

Rewriting the Past: Reception and Commentary of *Nihon shoki*,
Japan's First Official History

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ABSTRACT

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This study traces the diverse interpretations of Japan's oldest official history, the 720 *Nihon shoki*, from its earliest scholarly treatment in the ninth century until its enshrinement within the canon of Japanese national literature in the modern period. Elites in the early eighth century produced a number of texts that described the fundamental principles of the world and the contours of the Japanese empire, such as *Kojiki* (712), *Kaifūsō* (751), *Man'yōshū* (late 8th c.), and as the official court narrative, *Nihon shoki*. While each of these possesses its own "imperial imagination," *Nihon shoki* is distinct because it heavily incorporates historical politics across Northeast Asia, especially on the Korean peninsula, in creating a narrative of ancient Japan in the world. Further, *Nihon shoki*, while written primarily in Literary Sinitic, also includes elements of the Japanese vernacular, and rather than delineating a single orthodox narrative, provides a number of alternative, conflicting accounts of Japanese mythology. These characteristics animated much of the debate surrounding the text's proper reading and meaning as later commentators grappled with its exegesis.

The dissertation comprises an introduction and five chapters. The first chapter analyzes the discourse surrounding the *Nihon shoki* in the eighth and ninth centuries, when lectures were periodically given on the text at court. The notes from these lectures reveal controversies over

how the text was composed and the proper method of reading it. After the lectures, courtiers composed Japanese poetry about major figures depicted in the work, frequently creating new mythologies that departed from the original as they sought to connect their vision of antiquity with the present. The poems also demonstrate the use of digests and alternative texts that were used as stand-ins for *Nihon shoki*. I discuss two of these in detail, *Kogo shūi* (807) and *Sendai kuji hongei* (c. 936), and show how they took advantage of ambiguities in *Nihon shoki* to position themselves as authoritative accounts.

In Chapter 2, I take up approaches that used *Nihon shoki* as an originary narrative from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. This type of treatment begins to appear to a limited degree in poetic treatises such as Minamoto no Toshiyori's *Toshiyori zuinō* (1113) and Fujiwara no Nakazane's *Kigōshō* (1116) and became widespread through the middle of the twelfth century. These same mid-century scholars were also responsible for producing picture scrolls based on the text and the first *Nihon shoki* commentary, Shinzei's *Nihongi shō* (circa 1150). As the trend intensified, citations began to go further and farther afield, often attributing stories and facts to *Nihon shoki* that are not in the original text. Use of *Nihon shoki* as an originary narrative was also adopted in political treatises by commentators such as Jien (1155-1225), and I discuss the methods and acrobatic intellectual maneuvers of these agents in blending Buddhist and continental cosmology with the *Nihon shoki* creation story. I focus especially on Jien's *Gukanshō* (c. 1220) and Ichijō Kaneyoshi's (1402-1481) *Nihon shoki sanso* (1457).

Chapter 3 begins with the uneasy syncretism between *Nihon shoki* and Song Confucian metaphysics in the seventeenth century. Works in this lineage, such as Hayashi Razan's *Jinmu*

tennō ron (1618), imagine the gods as metaphors for human actors and form the mainstream of intellectual treatment of *Nihon shoki* in the Edo period. Other Confucian thinkers, such as Yamazaki Ansai, instead read the gods as factual and use *Nihon shoki* as evidence of universal Confucian metaphysics; in Ansai's case the result was an entirely new school of Shinto, and his disciples were responsible for the first two commentaries that covered the entire text. One response to this was a reading that prioritized continental histories over the *Nihon shoki* chronicles, epitomized by the full-length commentary *Shoki shukkai* (c. 1785). Another arose in the nascent discipline of national learning, exemplified by Motoori Norinaga's (1730-1801) criticism of Ansai. Norinaga went on to write a full commentary of the *Kojiki*, but his reading relied heavily on *Nihon shoki*, and he cites it more than any other text in his narrative of Japan's divine age.

Chapter 4 introduces a diversity of approaches that attempt to reconcile *Nihon shoki* with the ideal of a modern national history at the end of the nineteenth century. I begin outlining an 1888 debate that continued for nearly a year over the chronology of *Nihon shoki*; producing an accurate chronology of Japanese history was considered critical to measuring Japan's societal progression in comparison to other civilizations. I then discuss historical and linguistic study of the divine age from 1890-1912. Contemporary scholarship often misreads these accounts as being based in positivist historicism, but I show that they are actually rooted in original reinterpretations of *Nihon shoki* that mix-and-match variant pieces to create a new imperial narrative. Particular attention is given to how such readings were used to justify colonial expansion to Korea.

Chapter 5 addresses *Nihon shoki*'s shifting position in national literature by analyzing several histories of Japanese literature written from 1890 to 1912, especially Takatsu Kuwasaburō and Mikami Sanji's *Nihon bungaku shi* and Haga Yaichi's *Kokubungakushi jikkō*. The variety of interpretations applied to *Nihon shoki* illustrate major shifts in ideas about what constituted literature, how literary periods should be divided, the role of academics in creating a national canon, and whether literature should focus on universal characteristics of civilization or particular attributes of national culture. By the end of this period, emphasis on the idea of a shared national language led scholars to sideline *Nihon shoki* in favor of texts written in something more closely resembling the Japanese vernacular like *Kojiki* and *Man'yōshū*. It also cemented the eighth-century as "Ancient Japanese Literature" (*jōdai bungaku*), a field periodization still in place today.

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Conventions

Translations by the author when not otherwise attributed.

Premodern sources are cited by the name of the text in the footnotes. In the bibliography, they are organized according to the name of the author. When the author is not known, they are listed in the bibliography according to the name of the editor; works by unknown authors without named editors are organized by title. Japanese publication location in the bibliography is Tokyo when not otherwise indicated.

Romanization is in Pinyin, McCune-Reischauer, and Hepburn. Poetry in Classical Japanese has been romanized to reflect modern *kana* usage.

Japanese sovereigns are referred to as “Emperor” or “Empress,” although it should be noted that the term “tennō” that these translate did not exist prior to the late seventh century. I also use the Chinese-style names for these figures, though they did not exist before the mid-eighth century.

Ranks for court officials and names of offices follow the usage in Helen Craig and William H. McCullough’s *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*.

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Introduction: Quandaries of Reading the *Nihon shoki*

Mortal men are ever wont to lie,
Whene'er they speak of sceptre-bearing kings.

William George Aston inscribed the above¹ in his 1896 English translation of the 720 *Nihon shoki* (日本書紀), Japan's first official history. The translation was the first Anglophone scholarship on this text,² but its exegesis dates back at least to 812 and continues to the present.³ The object of the current study is to analyze the reading and interpretation of this text, beginning in the ninth century, through the formation of modern Japanese literature as an academic field in the early twentieth century. *Nihon shoki* narrates the lineage of the imperial clan from the creation of the world until 697 C.E., and the text continued to be widely read and cited thereafter as it became requisite knowledge for the educated elite. Hence, understanding how the text was read and how its interpretations changed over time is a critical component to decoding a wide range of problems such as the view of fiction in *The Tale of Genji*, the basis for judging medieval poetry contests, the composition of the Japanese race as it grew into a modern empire, and many more. Aston's concern with the facticity of the text was a common problem for readers of all periods, along with how to render its Literary Sinitic prose into the Japanese language and how to make sense of the numerous, varying, and sometimes conflicting accounts of events it contains. These three issues would form sites of contestation in the sense that any interpretation would be required to speak to them, but they also created opportunities for commentators to reshape the

¹ The quotation is excerpted from Andrew Lang's 1882 *Helen of Troy, her life and translation (Done into rhyme from the Greek books)*." William G. Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1956 [1896]), xiii.

² Karl Adolf Florenz (1865-1939) produced a German translation over the five years from 1892 to 1897. Aston acknowledges the contributions of Florenz to his translation in his introduction.

³ A 720 reading of the text is suggested in many premodern sources, however no record of such a gathering appears in the relevant court chronicle for that period, the *Shoku Nihongi* (続日本紀, 797).

meaning of the text. The same can be said of a fourth issue of fidelity in citations, though it is largely confined to the pre-1600 era.

Study of the *Nihon shoki* can be divided into two broad categories: research on the text itself, and research on the text's reception in different time periods. This dissertation focuses exclusively on the latter, but a brief discussion of the former is merited. In the post-WW2 era, scholarship that addresses the *Nihon shoki* can be split into questions of textual compilation and narrative content, corresponding to the methods of *seiritsu-ron* (成立論) and *sakuhin-ron* (作品論). The first of these strives to answer the question of how and by whom the *Nihon shoki* was written and compiled. Unlike the slightly earlier historical account *Kojiki* (古事記, 712),⁴ the *Nihon shoki* does not contain a preface explaining the methods or rationale for its creation. At best, *Nihon shoki* includes an entry for 620 C.E. stating that Prince Shōtoku (聖徳太子, 574-622) and Soga no Umako (蘇我馬子, ??-626) compiled three historical records;⁵ a further note dated 645 states that two of these were lost in a fire, but that the *Record of the Emperors* (天皇記) was saved.⁶ Neither of these texts are extant and there is ample reason to doubt they ever existed. Another historical record, the *Sendai kuji hongei* (先代旧事本紀), is often attributed to Prince Shōtoku, and arguments continue to be made that suggest some portion of its content pre-dates the *Nihon shoki*; this text is discussed in Chapter 1. Suffice it to say, aside from *Kojiki* there is no known historical record that can reliably be taken to have preceded *Nihon shoki*.

⁴ *Kojiki* was compiled by Ō no Yasumaro (太安万侶, ??-723). However, this text was not recognized as a national history by the court, hence the description here of *Nihon shoki* as Japan's first "official" history.

⁵ *Nihon shoki* 4, ed. Sakamoto Tarō, Ienaga Saburō, Inoue Mitsusada, Ōno Susumu (Iwanami, 1995), 132-134.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 232.

The *Shoku Nihongi* notes that in 720 “Previously, Prince Toneri (舍人親王, 676-735) received an imperial order and had been compiling the *Nihongi*. At this time he completed it and submitted it to the Empress in thirty volumes and one genealogy.”⁷ The entry suggests that Prince Toneri had been working on the text for some time; there is an earlier entry in *Shoku Nihongi* in 714 ordering the compilation of a national history by Ki no Kiyohito (紀清人, ??-753) and Miyake no Fujimaro (三宅藤麻呂, ??-??) but neither the name *Nihongi* nor Prince Toneri are mentioned so it is not clear if the same text is being referred to. The *Nihon shoki* itself suggests that it is a compilation; especially in the first two volumes, it frequently cites “Another written account” (一書曰). These materials are usually referred to in English as “variants.” Elsewhere it cites continental accounts like the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (三國志) and other, non-extant and potentially fictitious works like the *Record of Paekche* (百濟記) and the *Nihon kyūki* (日本旧記). The *Record of the Three Kingdoms* is particularly important because Pei Songzhi’s (裴松之, 372-451) commentary on the work, *Annotations to Records of the Three Kingdoms* (三國志注, 3rd c. C.E.), also includes variant accounts of historical events. Endō Keita suggests that for this reason the work served as a model for the compilation of *Nihon shoki*.⁸ This approach could also imply that the variants suggest the existence of an Ur-*Nihon shoki* or some other preexisting body of textual material. As the vast majority of the variants are found in the first two volumes of the text which discuss the age of the gods, this preexisting body

⁷ *Shoku Nihongi* 2, ed. Aoki Kazuo, Inaoka Kōji, Sasayama Haruo, Shirafuji Noriyuki, in *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 13, (Iwanami, 1990), 73.

⁸ Endō Keita, *Higashi ajia no naka no Nihon shoki: rekishisho no tanjō* (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2012), 32-34. A similar claim about *Annotations to Records of the Three Kingdoms* as a model was made in 936; this is discussed in Chapter 1.

would primarily be concerned with Japanese mythology. However, barring an epochal archeological discovery, such claims will remain perennially impossible to substantiate.

A second approach to *Nihon shoki* compilation centers on analysis of the language of the text itself. Okada Masayuki noted as early as 1929 that the citation method is inconsistent between volumes thirteen and fourteen, suggesting that the text went through two phases of authorship.⁹ More recently, Mori Hiromichi has suggested that volumes 14-19 and volumes 24-27 were written by foreign authors based on how these volumes negotiate the writing of Japanese words using sinographs.¹⁰ Research in this vein is of tremendous benefit in assessing how the text was compiled, but tends away from inquiry into its narrative. For example, knowing that certain volumes were written by a foreign author is interesting, but without a broader argument about how that affects the meaning and content of those volumes, the significance of these studies in terms of texts and meanings is limited. For the present study, the most important take-away of this research is that *Nihon shoki* did not begin to be separated into constituent parts in this fashion until the modern period.

In contrast, research on the narrative content of *Nihon shoki* tends to dispense with the questions of compilation entirely. The strong point of this approach is that previously unanswerable questions of veracity are transformed into literary questions of meaning, i.e., while we can never know what text the *Record of Paekche* is referring to, whether it ever really existed, and if this citation is accurate, we can ask why this text is cited and how it functions within the larger world the *Nihon shoki* creates. Questions about the potential existence of an earlier body of Japanese mythological texts are similarly rendered irrelevant. The benefit of this text-centric

⁹ Okada Masayuki, *Ōmi Nara chō no kanbungaku* (Tōyō bunko, 1929), 186.

¹⁰ See Mori Hiromichi, *Kodai no on'in to Nihon shoki no seiritsu* (Taishūkan, 1991).

approach has been the ability to establish and compare the worlds created in discrete eighth-century texts. This leads to studies that emphasize the unique characteristics of “multiple ancient periods,”¹¹ “a bundle of different visions of empire,”¹² or “parallel eighth-century histories.”¹³ Perhaps because the *Kojiki* tends towards a single narrative it is the most amenable to this approach, but it has drawbacks in analyzing eighth-century works that frame themselves as compilations such as *Nihon shoki* and *Man'yōshū* (万葉集). In the case of the former, this has meant jettisoning the variant texts to force the *Nihon shoki* into a single unified narrative. While this approach has helped to illustrate its contrasts with *Kojiki*, it also results in a drastic shortening of the text that removes much of its original flavor. In this study, which focuses on the reception of *Nihon shoki*, this kind of narrative analysis will be used in order to highlight the contrasts between the base text and later interpretations.

In scholarship on the reception of *Nihon shoki*, the most widespread approach incorporates methods from intellectual history in order to understand how later commentaries and interpretations evoke or promote worldviews characteristic to the period in which they were written that contrast with those of the base text. For example, a medieval commentary that attributes Izanaki and Izanami's dipping of the heavenly jeweled spear and finding the sea to the Buddhist cosmological idea of the water cylinder at the base of the universe (水輪) can be said to reflect the importance and diffusion of Buddhism into medieval Japanese society. At the same time, we can also locate novel innovations in such commentaries which can be linked both to the worldview in which they operate as well as to their political circumstances or ideological

¹¹ Kōnoshi Takamitsu, *Fukusū no kodai* (Kōdansha, 2007).

¹² Torquil Duthie, *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination in Early Japan* (Brill, 2014), 6.

¹³ David Lurie, *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing* (Harvard, 2011), 225.

interventions. The present study makes extensive use of such analysis. However, this research also tends to focus on one work or time period in particular, while the objective of this dissertation is to analyze the *Nihon shoki* commentarial tradition broadly. Hence, while the intellectual-historical components of textual reception will be discussed, inquiry will center on the concrete methods by which commentators grafted, interspersed, and superimposed these trends onto the base text. As mentioned above, these operations tended to concern four problems: the veracity of the text, textual variants, rogue citations, and the language of the text.

Evaluating the veracity of the text, Aston wrote:

The *Nihongi* consists of very heterogeneous elements which by no means all answer to our ideas of history. The earlier part furnishes a very complete assortment of all the forms of the Untrue of which the human mind is capable, whether myth, legend, fable, romance, gossip, mere blundering, or downright fiction... The narrative becomes more and more real as it goes on, until about the 5th century we find ourselves in what, without too violent a departure from the truth, may be called genuine history.¹⁴

Because there is no clear moment at which the myths of the ancient period become historical narrative, Aston laments, it is impossible to know when we should begin taking the material seriously. Chapter 4 discusses an 1888 debate Aston was involved in over precisely this issue; the debate originated from an article comparing the dating in *Nihon shoki* to events in Chinese historical records. Speaking more generally, the question of *Nihon shoki* facticity always arose in the context of differing or conflicting textual sources. In early *Nihon shoki* exegesis these were alternative accounts of the same content, but in later periods would involve works from the Buddhist and Chinese canons as well.

The variant texts, perhaps inspired by the format of *Annotations to Records of the Three Kingdoms*, form a second locus that later commentators, interpreters, and translators negotiated and, in some cases, exploited. These variants gives multiple versions of the same event or

¹⁴ Aston, xiii.

conflicting accounts of how things came to pass. This makes reading the text straight-through difficult since, for example, the sun goddess is born three times, once in the main narrative and twice in the variants. Further, the circumstances of her birth are quite different between the three.

Robert Borgen and Marian Ury describe these variants as follows:

The original compilers give the impression of having collected many versions of Japan's ancient myths and, adopting the posture of modern folklorists, included them all.¹⁵

To simplify using the text in teaching, Borgen and Ury elect to remove these variants and streamline the divine age into a single uninterrupted narrative. This is one example of commentators negotiating how to deal with this composite narrative style. A similar but more complex approach is illustrated in research centered on the text's narrative content; for example, Kōnoshi Takamitsu, in comparing the narratives of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, argues that the original was meant to be read straight through, in the manner adopted by Borgen and Ury.¹⁶ One component of this argument may be purely practical; if the variants are included, the *Nihon shoki* departs from standard narrative format and makes narratological analysis difficult if not impossible. Conversely, in approaches seeking to identify potential Ur-*Nihon shoki* sources, the variants prove invaluable. For example, in his early work Tsuda Sōkichi would compare the variants and identify the materials that were held in common between them as the original material of Japanese mythology. Speaking more generally, these variant texts provided a repository of canonical text that commentators and interpreters could use as they pleased in order to illustrate points as varied as commonalities with the *Treasury of Abhidharma*

¹⁵ Robert Borgen and Marian Ury, "Readable Japanese Mythology: Selections from *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*," *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1990): 63.

¹⁶ Kōnoshi Takamitsu, *Kojiki to Nihon shoki: "tennō shinwa" no rekishi* (Kōdansha, 1999), 110-112.

(Abhidharmakośakārikā, 4th or 5th c. C.E.) to legitimization of colonial expansion into the Korean peninsula.

Rogue citations, that is, citations that claim to be from the *Nihon shoki* but are not present in the original text, are a particular feature of medieval materials, and are generally referred to using the term *chūsei nihongi*, the “medieval chronicles.” A wide genre of works fall in this category, including poetic treatises, commentaries on other texts such as the *Tale of Genji*, and picture scrolls, and they are characterized by freewheeling and often bizarre citations that, to the modern reader, seem have nothing to do with either *Nihon shoki* nor the text or poem they are explicating. For example, a long citation from the late thirteenth century *Kokin wakashū jo kiki gaki sanryūshō* (古今和歌集序聞書三流抄) claims to be from the *Nihongi* but, on casual examination, repeats the familiar *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*. These works have largely been dismissed from *Nihon shoki* studies because they do nothing to explain the text. However, such citations served an important societal function by reinforcing the canonicity of the text being commentated upon; in a sense these works leached from *Nihon shoki*’s privileged position. In the dissertation, I discuss how these diversions stemmed from the treatment the *Nihon shoki* enjoyed during the tenth century, when its broad diversity, especially concerning the variants, was celebrated and expounded upon.

Finally, the issue of language has characterized *Nihon shoki* exegesis since its earliest scholarly reception, where much of the discourse seems to have been devoted to understanding how to read the text out loud using the vernacular. In postwar research, the specter of national language, invented in the late nineteenth century, continues to haunt the text. As Aston notes,

The defects of the *Nihongi* are due...mainly to the circumstance that the authors were accomplished scholars deeply imbued with ideas derived from the classical and historical literature of ancient China. With exceptions to be noticed presently, the work is

composed in the Chinese language. This is in itself an obstacle to the faithful representation of things Japanese.¹⁷

A century later, Donald Keene would write in the same vein that

The great native chronicles of early Japan, the *Records of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*) and the *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihongi*) were completed as late as the first decades of the eighth century C.E., when Japanese writers were already strongly influenced by Chinese traditions. It is therefore difficult to distinguish any pure native traditions in these works, nor are they fully reliable as accounts of Japan's early history.¹⁸

For Aston, the fact that the text was not written in Japanese was itself problematic; for Keene, the issue has moved beyond language to Chinese tradition itself, but the lament at the inability to locate “native” traditions in *Nihon shoki* remains the same. This strident distinction between Japanese and Chinese traditions would likely be nonsensical to the premodern reader, and here my general attitude will be to treat the *Nihon shoki* as a *kanbun* text with *kanbun* referring to a different register of Japanese textual production and consumption. For premodern commenters, the fact that the text is in *kanbun* meant that it could be, or demanded to be, glossed in the vernacular, which allowed attaching new or more complex meanings to the Literary Sinitic base.

The dissertation is composed of five chapters. The first begins with the earliest recorded discourse on *Nihon shoki*, a series of readings that took place in the Heian court at roughly thirty-year intervals, in 812, 843, 878, 904, 936, and 965.¹⁹ Analysis centers on the preface to the 812 reading and the notes from the 936 lecture; importantly, we note that both of these sources illustrate the lecturer's commitment to clarifying the relationship of the variants to the main text. Further, the premise of the lectures themselves seems to have been the establishment, recording,

¹⁷ Aston, xiv.

¹⁸ William Theodore De Bary, Donald Keene, and George Tanabe, *Sources of Japanese Tradition Vol. 1: From Earliest Times through the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 13.

¹⁹ Later sources also note a reading in 720, when the text was first produced, but no documentary evidence of this reading remains. That such an event is absent in the *Shoku Nihongi* suggests that the reading may be no more than an assumption of later intellectuals.

and transmission of vernacular glosses. The chapter also discusses poetry written at banquets that followed the lectures; a complete translation of this poetry is included in Appendix B. The poems illustrate several important components of *Nihon shoki* reception in practice, foremost of which is the willingness of courtiers to reinterpret mythology to focus on the imperial line and to celebrate its contributions to their lived present. The poetry also reveals that texts other than *Nihon shoki* that summarized its contents were in circulation at the time and treated as faithful stand-ins for it, despite their differing content. I conclude by discussing the position of two other mythological texts circulating at the time, the *Kogo shūi* and the *Sendai kuji hongei*.

Chapter two begins with the afterlife of the lectures, which ceased in 965 but continued to be relevant to textual production; I note the use of *Nihon shoki* in high Heian literature such as the *Tale of Genji* and the *Sarashina nikki*. These texts reflect the value of incorporating *Nihon shoki* into contemporary prose compilations; the same begins to be seen in poetry in the eleventh century. I trace the use of *Nihon shoki* across several poetic treatises, from *Toshiyori zuinō* to the notes on the preface of the *Kokin wakashū*. I also note that many of the courtiers involved in producing such poetic treatises were also incorporating *Nihon shoki* content into other genres, such as summaries of court cases and picture scrolls. In the last half of the medieval period, the Urabe clan rose to prominence for its scholarship on the *Nihon shoki*, and I discuss the manuscripts they produced and their voluminous commentary *Shaku Nihongi*. I conclude by discussing the cosmological and metaphysical formulations of Ichijō Kaneyoshi, who sought to meld the *Nihon shoki* with Buddhist models of the universe.

Chapter three discusses the commentarial tradition in the early modern period. I begin with work by scholars steeped in Song Confucianism such as Hayashi Razan and Yamazaki Ansai and discuss how they negotiated the discussion of Japan in Chinese histories with the

content of *Nihon shoki*. Ansai's school is particularly important because it led to the first full-length commentaries on the text; however, these works tended to function more as collections of earlier material than critical commentarial interventions. Conversely, the eighteenth-century works of the Kawamura school and of native learning scholars explicitly rejected the commentaries from Ansai's Suika school and their larger conceptual frame, in which all accounts contained some element of veracity and oral, esoteric transmissions were privileged in comparison to textual sources. The Kawamura school further rejected dealing with the glossed readings of *Nihon shoki*. For scholars in the native learning tradition, the issue of how to read *Nihon shoki* similarly centered on language, but rather than eschew the problem of vernacular readings it was given primary importance for orienting commentarial approaches. For example, Motoori Norinaga took the *Kojiki* as a representation of eighth-century Japanese language and prioritized its exegesis but, as I show, made frequent use of *Nihon shoki* because he still believed its content to be accurate. Conversely, Hirata Atsutane imagined that writing did exist in the divine age and that all written texts, including the *Kojiki*, had diverged from the ancient language; as such he sought to recombine *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and other early mythological texts into a single divine-age narrative.

Chapter four addresses early efforts to write a national history for the modern Japanese nation state, which made near-exclusive use of *Nihon shoki* for events on the archipelago prior to the eighth century. By this time, most historians accepted that the chronology of the *Nihon shoki* was not a faithful representation of history; this resulted in a number of innovative "solutions" that would move the founding of the empire from 660 B.C.E. forward to a number of more believable dates. However, this sort of creative revisionism also met with strong resistance from scholars associated with religious studies or with the nascent field of Japanese literature. The

physical boundaries of the state were also in question, and I note several efforts by historians and linguists to both expound the origins of the Japanese race and to include or exclude the Korean archipelago from the ancient national territory.

Chapter five delineates *Nihon shoki*'s vacillating position in the field of Japanese national literature as it came into being at the end of the nineteenth century. Originally *Nihon shoki*, along with *Kojiki*, *The Tale of Genji*, and others occupied a prominent position in the canon of Japanese literature, but, by 1910, as the definition of literature moved away from general writings and towards *belles lettres*, and as national language became a defining feature of Japanese literature, *Nihon shoki* had largely vanished from the field of Japanese literature. I also discuss the treatment of *Nihon shoki* within a larger shift in early histories of Japanese literature, identified by Shinada Yoshikazu, away from grand narratives of human civilization and towards a particular national culture.

The issue of language discussed in Chapter 5 continues to be a major issue in twenty-first century Japanese academia. Study of *Nihon shoki* by scholars of eighth century literature continues to be dwarfed by work on *Kojiki* and *Man'yōshū*, and if it is discussed, it is usually as a foil for the *Kojiki*. A prominent Japanese literature scholar confided to me as recently as 2016 that *Nihon shoki* was not literature, and a collected works of Japanese literature currently being released by Kawade shobō includes, predictably, *Kojiki* and *Man'yōshū* only. However, as the *Nihon shoki* nears its 1300-year anniversary, as Japanese literature increasingly begins to question how it can reposition itself within, as opposed to against, East Asia, and as *kanbun* texts begin to be more widely studied by literature scholars, one hopes the *Nihon shoki* can reclaim some of the attention lost to modernity after over 1000 years at the center of the study of ancient Japan.

Chapter 1 - Heian Reception: *Nihon shoki* Lectures, Banquet Waka, and Derivative Texts

Several sources exist for analyzing *Nihon shoki* (日本書紀, 720) reception in the ninth and tenth centuries: lecture notes from regularly-held ceremonies at court where the text was read and expounded upon, poetry composed on the text at the celebrations that followed those lectures, and references to the *Nihon shoki* in other early texts seeking to re-narrate its mytho-historical content. Previous scholarship generally packages these materials together as a move to universalize Japanese mythology, primarily through the combination of the *musuhi*-based model of the *Kojiki* (古事記, 712) universe, in which the gods spring into existence “when heaven and earth first appeared,”¹ and the cosmology of the *Nihon shoki*, which begins the narrative before yin and yang and earth and heaven part from each other. Reexamining these materials here, two intertwined features of this universalization come to the fore. First, the primary vehicle by which this universalization was realized derives from two features of the *Nihon shoki* text itself: the variant texts in the divine age volumes, and the inclusion of vocal elements suggesting how to read the text in Japanese. Second, this universalization was founded on an all-encompassing and flexible understanding of mythological events that allowed for varied accounts of the same content to exist side-by-side without serious anxiety about points of conflict.

Discourse on the *Nihon shoki* at Court

The lecture notes are the most direct approach to understanding the problems that faced Heian period (794-1185) individuals in reading *Nihon shoki*. At these ceremonies, the text was read aloud over the course of months or years followed by a conclusion banquet where Japanese poetry was composed on characters that appear in the text. The basic information about the

¹ *Kojiki*, trans. Gustav Heldt (Columbia University Press, 2014), 7.

lectures is listed in the opening of the Kamakura (1185-1333) commentary *Shaku Nihongi* (釈日本紀), which quotes a 965 record called *Nihongi kōrei* (日本紀講例) and lists seven lectures from 721 to 965.² The first, just one year after *Nihon shoki*'s compilation in Yōrō 5, is missing the name of the lecturer and does not have any information about the closing ceremony. Whether such a lecture took place at all is subject to debate, as *Shoku Nihongi* (続日本紀, 797), the official record of the Nara period (710-784), would be expected to have entries for both the beginning of the lecture as well as any concluding ceremony, but does not mention either. It records only the presentation of the completed *Nihon shoki* volumes to the court in 720.

Following the list given in *Shaku Nihongi*, the second lecture took place in Kōnin 3 (812), with Assistant Master of the Punishments Ministry, Ō no Hitonaga (多人長, ??-??), junior fifth rank lower, as the lecturer.³ There is a further note that he is a descendant of the *Kojiki* author Ō no Yasumaro (太安万侶, ??-723).⁴ The lecture is also recorded in the sixth month, second day entry of 812 in *Nihon kōki* (日本後紀, 840).

On this day, [the emperor] ordered Consultant Ki no Hirohama, junior fourth rank lower, Director of the Bureau of Divination Abe no Masakatsu, senior fifth rank lower, and some ten or so others to read the *Nihongi*. Unposted Ō no Hitonaga, junior fifth rank lower, acted as lecturer.⁵

是日、始令參議從四位下紀朝臣広浜・陰陽頭正五位下阿倍朝臣真勝等十余人讀日本紀、散位從五位下多朝臣人長執講、

² *Shaku Nihongi*, in *Nihon shoki shiki; Shaku Nihongi; Nihon isshi*, ed. Kuroita Katsumi, vol. 8 of Shintei zōho kokushi taiki (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965), 14-15.

³ Ibid., 14.

⁴ Yasumaro's name is given as 太・麻呂. Apparently the compiler of *Shaku Nihongi* took Yasumaro as a compiler of *Nihon shoki*; he is author of the *Kojiki*. This view is shared by many commentators through the early modern period.

⁵ Kuroita Nobuo and Morita Tei, ed., *Nihon kōki* (Shūeisha, 2003), 612.

The notes from this lecture are the first manuscript (kō, 甲) in the *Nihon shoki shiki* (日本書紀私記), a collection of four texts commonly associated with the series of Heian lectures, and the notes from this lecture are usually referred to as the *Kōnin shiki* (弘仁私記) to distinguish them from the other three texts. *Kōnin shiki* is composed of a *kanbun* preface, a list of words from *Nihon shoki* and their pronunciation in Japanese written alongside in *katakana*, and a postscript. Concerning its authenticity, Sakamoto Tarō notes that there are two competing theories: that the manuscript is an outright forgery, and that the text is original but that newer material was added at a later point.⁶ Tsukishima Hiroshi claims that the accent marks for Japanese words that appear in the preface were not developed until the mid-Heian, leading to strong doubts that the preface is original.⁷ He also writes that *katakana*, which glosses words in the body of the text, did not exist in the Kōnin period, and that the text is, at the least, not from the early Heian.⁸ Kasuya Kōki counters that the distinction between “ko” and “kō” made in proper names that appear in the preface indicates an early Heian origin.⁹ Kasuya suggests instead that the non-Heian qualities of the text are a result of repeated copying and additions, and he notes that the oldest manuscript is from the Edo period. In this vein, Fukuda Yoshikazu, based on extensive analysis of the *katakana* and *man'yōgana* in *Kōnin shiki*, has suggested that there are elements particular to both early and late Heian Japanese and that the text we now know as *Kōnin shiki* is a mixture.¹⁰ More recently, Tanaka Takashi takes the *Kōnin shiki* preface to be authentic and instead problematizes the

⁶ Sakamoto Tarō. *Six National Histories of Japan* (UBC Press, 1991), 76-77. The styling of the lecture notes as kō, otsu, hei, and tei is convention based on how they appear in the *Kokushi taikēi* edition of *Nihon shoki shiki*, cited in note 2.

⁷ Tsukishima Hiroshi, *Heian jidai no kanbun kundoku ni tsukite no kenkyū* (University of Tokyo Press, 1963), 132.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 132-133.

⁹ Kasuya Kōki, “Nihon shoki shiki kōhon no kenkyū,” *Geirin* 19-2 (1968): 56.

¹⁰ Fukuda Yoshikazu, “Nihon shoki shiki kōhon ni okeru bōkun no seikaku ni tsuite,” *Gobun kenkyū* 29 (1970): 38.

difference between it and *Nihon shoki* itself, particularly concerning the order in which the gods appear and the calculation of years. These he ascribes to the compiler's opinion or mistake.¹¹

Analysis here will take *Kōnin shiki* as an early Heian original; in any case the most critical section of the text for this examination is cited in the lecture notes from 936, so it is undoubtedly part of the ninth and tenth century discourse on the *Nihon shoki*.

The preface raises several issues that would frame the treatment of *Nihon shoki* going forward and reveal the immediate concerns of the preface writer. The first is over the perceived disorganization of families and lineages at court, the same sentiment seen in the *Kojiki* preface. To that end, the *Kōnin shiki* preface, after explaining the naming of *Nihon shoki* and the background of its compiler, Prince Toneri (舍人親王, 676-735), begins by summarizing the *Kojiki* preface, which attributes its compilation to an order from Emperor Tenmu to Hieda no Are (稗田阿礼, ??-??) and Ō no Yasumaro. The *Kōnin shiki* preface then names Toneri and Yasumaro as the compilers of *Nihon shoki*. Part of the reasoning behind naming Yasumaro was perhaps, as Sakamoto claims, because the instructor at the Kōnin lectures, Ō no Hitonaga, was in fact a descendant of Yasumaro.¹² However, as the preface continues to list other texts after *Nihon shoki* such as *Shinsen shōjiroku* (新撰姓氏録, 815), the wider outlook suggests that the author was trying to create a chain of accounts, beginning with *Kojiki*, in which *Nihon shoki* was the most authoritative but not necessarily final. This also indicates the primary function of *Nihon shoki* in the early Heian: a record of imperial and major clan lineages. Naturally, *Nihon shoki*, *Kojiki*, and *Shōjiroku* are all different in their style, aims, and content, but the author of the

¹¹ Tanaka Takashi, *Kotenseki to shiryō* (Kokusho kankōkai, 1993), 298.

¹² Sakamoto, 38. As seen in note 4, this claim is based on the note from the *Shaku Nihongi*.

Kōnin shiki preface treats these texts as though they are each attempting to achieve the same thing and are important for the same reasons.

John Brownlee has noted two texts, the *Wakan sōrekitei fuzu* seen in the *Nihon kōki*¹³ and the *Teiō keizu*, listed among the texts in the *Kōnin shiki*, that were banned, reflecting a desire to control historical knowledge in the Heian court.¹⁴ Brownlee follows the author of the preface in asserting that “Emperor Tenmu, worried about falsifications in history, would have been pleased by the outcome of the historical enterprise he inaugurated,”¹⁵ but it is important to realize that the concrete steps in that enterprise did not definitively stem from Tenmu. Tenmu is mentioned in connection to the *Kojiki* in that work’s preface to raise the prestige of the work itself, just as Yasumaro is listed as a compiler of *Nihon shoki* in the *Kōnin shiki* preface to raise the prestige of his descendant. These works do not fall into an enterprise so much as create ones of their own. For the *Kōnin shiki*, the most salient point is that the author had a vision of such an enterprise beginning with Tenmu, coursing through *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, and going on to *Shōjiroku*.

However, despite *Shōjiroku* being a newer and, in terms of recording genealogy, far more comprehensive text than *Nihon shoki*, the compiler asserts that *Shōjiroku* as well as several other later texts have corrupted or misinterpreted the past. No specific complaints are lodged against *Kojiki*, but it is presented as a prequel to *Nihon shoki*, and the writer’s assertion that Yasumaro participated in the compiling of both texts implies that *Nihon shoki* encompassed the content of *Kojiki*. A now non-extant work, the *Shinbestuki*, is mentioned as being the most reliable, but is then undercut because of its ancient compilation date and unknown author. For the compiler of

¹³ *Nihon kōki*, 809, second month, fifth day.

¹⁴ John Brownlee, “Ideological Control in Ancient Japan,” *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 14-1 (1987), 131-132.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

this preface, these texts all performed the same function, but *Nihon shoki*, not too old and not too new, did it best. The reasons behind this are two-fold. First, as stated above, the connection of the *Nihon shoki* to Tenmu and the *Kojiki* granted it an official status that the *Shinbetsuki* lacked; the preface writer ventured to know how the *Nihon shoki* was compiled, by whom, and to what ends. At the same time, the *Nihon shoki* was old enough for the writer to argue that it was more authentic or more accurate than the *Shōjiroku*. The other reason was based on the textual structure of *Nihon shoki* itself, in that the divine-age volumes give the appearance of being compiled from multiple textual sources.

The *Kōnin shiki* preface is written in two registers: full-size text that reads straightforwardly to discuss the numerous genealogical texts in circulation at the time, and interlinear notes that explain the meaning of certain characters; these notes do not always correspond to the meaning that would be gleaned from reading only the full-size text. The full-size text reads as follows:

... this is the *Kojiki* in three volumes. In the reign of Empress Genshō, Toneri, Yasumaro, and others also compiled the *Nihon shoki* in thirty volumes and the *Imperial Lineage* (Teiō keizu) in one volume. In Yōrō 4, fifth month, twenty-first day, they meritoriously presented it to public office. The text begins with heaven and earth and the primordial chaos and ends with the coming into being of all the types of things. The descendants of the gods and the imperial scion are as clear as pointing out lines on one's palm. Admiration for civilization and the ways of the past is clearly enumerated. Alternative explanations deal with matter supernatural. Because they equipped themselves with extensive information, there is nothing [in this text] that is not profoundly erudite. The *Shinbetsuki* in ten volumes is also extant, and in the matter of clearly perceiving the matters of the gods, this is the best proof. However, it was written in a distant age, and the author is unknown. Also, there is the *Teiō keizu*, the *Shomin zasshō ki*, the *Shohan zasshō ki*, and the *Shinsen shōji mokuroku*. Works like these touch on the issues but are different. They contradict the older explanations and muddle and make unclear what people see. In some places horses become cows, and in others sheep become dogs...¹⁶

¹⁶ *Nihon shoki shiki*, in *Nihon shoki shiki; Shaku Nihongi; Nihon isshi*, ed. Kuroita Katsumi, vol. 8 of Shintei zōho kokushi taikai (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965), 5-9.

所謂古事記三卷者也。清足姬元正天皇負屨之時。親王及安麻呂等。更撰此日本書紀三十卷。并帝王系圖一卷。養老四年五月廿一日。功夫甫就獻於有司。上起天地混淪之先。下終品彙瓢成之後。神胤皇裔指掌灼然。慕化古風拳自明白。異端小說恠力乱神。為備多聞。莫不該博。世有神別紀十卷。發明神事最為証拠。然季紀匱遠。作者不詳。自此之外更有帝王系圖。諸民雜姓記。諸蕃雜姓記。新撰姓氏目錄者。如此之書触類而夥。踳駁旧說。眩曜人看。或以馬為牛。或以羊為犬。

The text continues to note the issues in texts produced after *Nihon shoki*, the fact that the *Nihon shoki* could no longer be read properly, and concludes with the necessity of the Kōnin lecture.

The phrase underlined above, “alternative explanations deal with matter supernatural,” is in a part of the text riddled with two and four character combinations taken from Chinese classics, and says literally “異端小說恠力乱神.” I take the “異端小說” as a reference to “異端邪說,” which appears in the *Book of Songs* to describe unorthodox reasoning. “恠力亂神” appears in the *Analects* to describe things that Confucius did not speak on, things that lie outside the bounds of reason i.e. the supernatural. Within the full-size print, this phrase is used to emphasize the legitimacy of the narrative that Yasumaro and Toneri put forth in *Nihon shoki* as opposed to competing explanations, and it foreshadows the discussion that follows of texts that have corrupted the *Nihon shoki* orthodoxy. The sentence immediately following the underlined, noting that they “equipped themselves with extensive information” (為備多聞), implies that their compilation was the product of surveying a vast repository of materials: this conclusion would be natural given the variants in the *Nihon shoki* as well as the compilation process described in the *Kojiki* preface. This phrase is cited in the 936 lectures, so even if the preface is not authentic in its entirety this particular section was part of early *Nihon shoki* discourse.

The half-size notes that appear throughout the text cement the relationship between the *Nihon shoki* variants and the full-size text of the preface, but not using the phrase suggesting that the compilers surveyed a variety of sources; instead it uses the “alternative explanations.” The

general purpose of these notes is to clarify the meaning of the full-size text, but often they appear to emphasize the author's familiarity with the Chinese classics instead. For example, the opening of the translation above, "primordial chaos" (混沌) almost certainly refers to the 混沌 described in the opening of *Nihon shoki*, and follows the meaning as it is used in the *Book of Songs* (一氣混沌生復生。有形有心即有情) for a state in which *ki* (氣) has not yet divided into *yin* and *yang*. The half-size notes here interpret the same as referring to a body of water undulating, giving "混 is big waves, and 淪 is small waves," and the connection to water more closely parallels the phrase's usage in the *Wen xuan* (或泛濫於潮波。或混沌乎泥沙). For the phrase underlined above, the notes claim that "異端" refer to the variant texts (一書) and other explanations (或說) and that "小說" are refutations (反語) and colloquialisms (諺曰). Here, the introduction of "variant texts" points to the variants included in the *Nihon shoki* itself, as opposed to different books like *Shōjiroku*, which is the thrust of the full-size text. A more complete association of this phrase with the variants in the *Nihon shoki* appears in the notes to the Jōhei reading, which will be discussed below.

After the preface, the *Kōnin shiki* is basically a list of words that appear in *Nihon shoki* with their reading in Japanese glossed with katakana. As mentioned above, this is the basis for the argument that denies the authenticity of the text as being from the early ninth century; katakana glossing is atypical of the period and most likely represents a later development. However, as Fukuda suggests, the text also incorporates man'yōgana typical of the early Heian and appears to be a mixture of readings from different periods; a number of transcription errors also point to there being some type of *Kōnin shiki* in the early Heian period that contained readings for words in *Nihon shoki*. Considering the reception of *Nihon shoki*, the exact date of the text is less important than what it is trying to achieve and the concerns it raises. In this case,

the clear question about *Nihon shoki*, which is noted in the preface as one rationale for the lecture in the first place, is how to read the text. “Reading” in this case does not correspond to reading for meaning, for which familiarity with Literary Sinitic would be sufficient, but to reading out loud using Japanese words. This problem arises from the complicated textual form of the *Nihon shoki* itself: the text is almost entirely in Literary Sinitic, but the poetry is transcribed into phonetic Japanese using man’yōgana. Much material is also presented in Literary Sinitic as direct speech, which would presumably have been in Japanese. Finally, *Nihon shoki* has extensive notes on the reading of certain words in the vernacular. All of this suggests that the text should be able to be read in Japanese, and this is what the main section of the *Kōnin shiki* notes for the pronunciation of words seeks to clarify.

Even if the text of the *Nihon shoki*, while transparent in Literary Sinitic, prompts the reader to vocalize the content in Japanese, this does not answer the question of why such reading is necessary or meaningful. Herman Ooms has described Nara-period Japan as a liturgical state, where religious worship performed in the vernacular was an indispensable component of the state¹⁷ – certainly this suggests why Japanese elements were included in the *Nihon shoki*. However, by the time of the *Kōnin* lectures, the ritsuryō system of a liturgical state memorialized in the *Nihon shoki* was largely gone; only eight years later the *Kōnin shiki* (弘仁式, to be distinguished from the lecture notes *Kōnin shiki* 弘仁私記), would bring in a new system of governance, and only three years later *Shōjiroku* would redefine clan hierarchies. However, for the author of the *Kōnin shiki* lecture notes, as evinced in the preface, the *Nihon shoki*, read in Japanese, was considered more accurate and more faithful than later genealogical records. This accuracy relied not only on reading the text in Japanese but also suggests that use of the

¹⁷ Herman Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan* (University of Hawai’i Press, 2009).

vernacular was itself a source of legitimacy; this vein of Ooms' Nara-period liturgical state continues into the early Heian. The reading for words in the *Nihon shoki* then take on a sort of spiritual power and authority, which would pave the way for its religious significance in later periods. The postscript, likely added at a later date, suggests as much in describing the *Kōnin shiki* as the very first “secret writing” in Japan, a privately controlled set of knowledge used to read texts in a way that produce some effect in the present.

The third reading took place in Jōwa 10 (843). The lecturer was unposted Sugano no Takatoshi (菅野高年, ??-??), senior sixth rank upper. *Shaku Nihongi* gives the location as the room for palace officials that was on the south side of the Kenshumon gate. No information for the closing banquet is entered. *Shoku Nihon kōki* (続日本後記, 869) also records this lecture, noting “Sixth month, first day. The one who knows ancient matters, unposted Sugano no Takatoshi, senior sixth rank upper, was made to begin reading *Nihongi* in the Bureau of Books and Drawings.”¹⁸ The entry for 844, sixth month, fifteenth day gives “*Nihongi* reading finished.”¹⁹ Sakamoto comments that the reading must have been “comparatively simple” to have been finished in only one year.²⁰ There is no other documented information about this reading, but it does show that explication of the readings of *Nihon shoki* continued.

The fourth reading was on the second month, twenty-fifth day of Gangyō 2 (878). The lecturer was the assistant governor of Iyo, Yoshibuchi no Chikanari (善淵愛成, ??-??). Sakamoto suspects that the 879 completion date of *Montoku jitsuroku* (文徳実録) is connected to the holding of the lecture in this year, to which we can add the fact that Chikanari was not

¹⁸ Morita Tei, ed., *Shoku Nihon kōki ge* (Kōdansha, 2010), 110.

¹⁹ Ibid., 149.

²⁰ Sakamoto, 77.

only the lecturer but also one of *Montoku*'s compilers. *Shaku Nihongi* continues, "he lectured on it outside the Fuseimon east of the Giyōshō [Giyōden].²¹ The *Sandai jitsuroku* (三代実録, 901) entry for the date of the reading has basically the same contents as *Shaku Nihongi*.

East of the Giyōden, [the emperor] ordered Assistant Instructor Yoshibuchi no Chikanari, junior fifth rank lower, to begin reading *Nihongi*.²² Senior secretary of the Council of State Shimada no Yoshiomi, junior fifth rank lower, assisted him. The minister of the right [Fujiwara no Mototsune] himself came down to attend and listen to these explanations.²³

於_二宜陽殿東廂_一。令_下從五位下行助教善淵朝臣愛成_一。始讀_中日本紀_上。從五位下行大外記嶋田朝臣良臣為_二都講_一。右大臣已下參議已上聽_二受其說_一。

A further entry for the seventh day, fifth month 879 reads:

[The emperor] ordered Governor and Director of the Bureau of Books and Drawings, Yoshibuchi no Chikanari, junior fifth rank lower, in the room to the east of the Giyōden, to read *Nihongi*. They summoned three or four students from the Myōgyō and Kiden bureaus [of the academy] to assist him. The Chancellor himself came down every day to open the reading. The reading began in the previous year, then was halted, and now it continues.²⁴

令_下從五位下守図書頭善淵朝臣愛成_一。於_二宜陽殿東廂_一。讀_中日本紀_上。喚_二明經紀伝生三四人_一為_二都講_一。大臣已下每日便開讀。前年始讀。中間停廢。故更始讀焉。

Shaku Nihongi also cites the preface to the conclusion banquet, noting the author of the preface was senior secretary of the Ministry for Central Affairs Sugano no Koreyuki (菅野惟肖, 842-888), junior fifth rank lower, and that the poets were imperial prince and Minister of War Motoyasu (本康親王, ??-902) and 30 others. The conclusion banquet took place the same year in

²¹ Kanekata, 14-15.

²² Chikanari's position of Assistant Instructor is noted as a *gyō* (行) position, meaning that it was considered below the status of his personal rank.

²³ *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, ed. Kuroita Katsumi, vol. 4 of *Shintei zōho kokushi taiki* (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966), 422-423.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 452.

the autumn, eighth month. This is the first lecture for which any materials from the concluding banquet survive; these will be discussed in the following section.

The Engi readings took place on the twenty-first day, eighth month of 904. *Shaku Nihongi* lists the lecturer as Director of the Academy Fujiwara no Harumi (藤原晴海, ??-??), junior fifth rank lower. There is no entry for the place of the lecture, and the concluding banquet was held in the intercalary twelfth month, seventeenth day of 906. The writer of the preface for the banquet was Senior Secretary²⁵ of the Ministry for Central Affairs and Provisional Assistant Governor of Suō Mimune no Masahira (三統理平, 853-926), junior fifth rank lower. The poets were Minister of War and imperial prince Sadayasu (貞保親王, 870-924). *Shaku Nihongi* also quotes the preface to the conclusion banquet:

904. At the emperor's command, the head of the university explained it. He began on the twenty-first day, eighth month in autumn of the fourth year (904) and finished on the twenty-second day, tenth month in winter of the sixth year (906). Then, on the seventeenth day of the intercalary twelfth month, small though it was, a concluding banquet was conducted in gratitude to the master.²⁶

序云。甲子歲。降_ニ綸旨_一。令_ニ大學頭大夫_一說_レ之。始_ニ於四年秋八月廿一日_一。終_ニ於六年冬十月廿二日_一。即閏十二月十七日。聊屈_ニ師礼_一。以成_ニ竟宴_一。

The preface remains and is discussed below with the poetry from this banquet.

The Jōhei reading began on the twelfth month, eighth day of 936. The lecturer was Assistant Governor²⁷ of Kii Yatabe no Kinmochi (矢田部公望, ??-??), junior fifth rank lower, and the lecture took place in the east room of the Giyōden. The concluding banquet was held in the sixth year of Tengyō (943), twelfth month twenty-fourth day. A note says that it was delayed

²⁵ A gyō position.

²⁶ *Shaku Nihongi*, 15.

²⁷ A gyō position.

because of disturbances. The writer of the preface for the conclusion banquet was Senior Secretary of the Ministry for Central Affairs²⁸ and Provisional Junior Secretary of Ōmi province Tachibana no Naomoto, junior fifth rank lower. The poets were imperial prince and Minister of Central Affairs Shigeakira (重明親王, 906-954) and 37 others. The preface to the banquet is quoted in *Shaku Nihongi* as saying,

Winter, sixth year of Jōhei (936). The Assistant Governor of Awa province [Kinmochi] was ordered to lecture on it. During this time the assistant governor was given charge of Minō and Kii provinces. In Tengyō 6 (943), ninth month, he began instruction and continued until the twelfth month, 24th day. Small though it was, in accordance with past customs, a completion banquet of gratitude was held.²⁹

承平六年冬。令下阿州別駕田大夫説上之。中間別駕累遷美州紀州。天慶六年九月伝始畢。至其十二月二十四日。聊仍旧貫之儀。以行澆章之礼。

Some forty poems from the banquet survive.

In terms of textual material, the Jōhei reading is extremely important because the lecture notes survive as the fourth manuscript (*teihon*, 丁本) in *Nihon shoki shiki*. There are two manuscripts between the *Kōnin shiki* (the *kō* manuscript, 甲本) and the this fourth one, but it is uncertain exactly which lectures these correspond to, if any. The second of these (*otsu*, 乙) covers the two divine-age volumes and the third (*hei*, 丙) from the Jinmu to Ōjin volumes, both giving words from *Nihon shoki* in sinographs followed by their reading in man'yōgana. Nishimiya Kazutami has suggested, based on analysis of the kana usage and accent marks, that these two texts are from the very end of the Heian period, and further, that they are probably composed from a mid or late Heian *Nihon shoki* manuscript that had glosses in mixed

²⁸ A gyō position.

²⁹ Ibid., 16.

man'yōgana and *itai* katakana.³⁰ Hence, they do not have a direct connection with any of the court lectures. At the least, they do show that explication of the Japanese readings of *Nihon shoki* continued to be of interest or deemed worthwhile enough to copy and edit a manuscript even at the end of the Heian period, but because of their problematic provenance they will not be discussed further in this study.

The fourth manuscript is perhaps most well-known for introducing the *Sendai kuji hongî* to the court; this text will be discussed at the end of the chapter. The notes themselves are in a question-and-answer format that begins with basic information about how the text was compiled and progresses to questions of how to read certain words in the *Nihon shoki* itself. The lecturer who provides the responses is Kinmochi. Two of Kinmochi's poems remain from the previous Engi lecture, so in the thirty-two years between readings he had progressed from student to master. Kinmochi also frequently cites the interpretation given at the previous *Nihon shoki* lecture, though he often disagrees with his former instructor Harumi. The most salient point of divergence is on the source material for *Nihon shoki*.

Question: What texts were used in the compilation of this work?

The master replied: The previous master said that it was made using the *Kojiki*. At that time he was asked, "If the *Kojiki* was used, why are there differences in the text?" The previous master then replied, "the *Kojiki* writes lineage only by establishing meanings, and does not labor in forming the sentences and phrases. Therefore while it was being compiled, its tendency is to simplify, etc." Now looking at this work (the *Nihon shoki*), the rough sentences are all sentences from the *Sendai kuji hongî*. Where it notes "one telling (一伝), it largely cites the sentences from *Kojiki*. Further, Prince Shōtoku relied on the precedents of the classical histories, and labored in the form of the composition. Places that use the ideographic meaning for the names of gods do not mix in phonetic usages, and places with the names of islands that use phonetics do not mix in ideographic usages. In this fashion, Kuni no tokotachi no mikoto and Onogoroshima are aspects of this. The style of this work (*Nihon shoki*) is the same as that writing (*Sendai kuji hongî*). Moreover *Nihon shoki*'s compilation often draws sentences from *Sendai kuji hongî*. For that reason, we can say that *Sendai kuji hongî* was the basis for *Nihon shoki*'s compilation.

³⁰ Nishimiya Kazutami, "Nihon shoki shiki, kō hon tei hon ni tsuite," *Kokugo kokubun* 38-10 (1969), 174.

From the excess writings borrowed from other places, though they are numerous, they are all called variants (一書) and set in the notes.³¹

問。撰_レ修此書_一之時。以_レ何書_一為_レ本乎。

師說。先師之說。以_レ古事記_一「者」為_レ本。其時。又問云。若以_レ古事記_一為_レ本。何有_レ相違之文_一哉。先師又說云。古事記者。只以_レ立意_一為_レ宗。不_レ勞_レ文句之_レ躰_一。仍撰修之間。頗有_レ改易_一。云々。而今見_レ此書_一。所載龜文者。全是先代旧事本紀之文也。注_一云_一之處。多引_レ古事記之文_一。況復上宮太子全依_レ經史之例_一能勞_レ文筆之_レ躰_一。或神名用_レ訓之處。更不_レ雜_レ音。或嶋名用_レ音之處。亦不_レ雜_レ訓。此近則。国常立尊殷馭盧嶋等。是其一端也。此書之躰。已同_レ彼書_一。況其所_レ載。多引_レ彼文_一。然則。可_レ謂_下以_レ先代旧事本紀_一為_レ本所_上撰也。自餘閭門假借之書。雖_レ有_レ其數_一皆稱_一一書_一。置_レ於_レ注_一。

The question itself reveals that the prevailing opinion in the mid-Heian was that the *Nihon shoki* was compiled from earlier textual sources, which corresponds to the narrative seen in the *Kōnin shiki* and its reading of the *Kojiki* preface. The answer goes far beyond the scope required; Kinmochi's motivations for introducing the text *Sendai kuji hongî* (先代旧事本紀) will be discussed at the end of the chapter. The first component of the response is to unseat *Kojiki* as the basis for *Nihon shoki*, which is essentially a repositioning of these texts compared to how they appeared in *Kōnin shiki*. By Kinmochi's evaluation, the hybrid writing style of the *Kojiki* was too different from the Literary Sinitic seen in *Nihon shoki* and *Sendai kuji hongî*. Put differently, Kinmochi is using formal text analysis to think about compilation rather than content or authorial motivation, which is how the relationship between these texts was established in *Kōnin shiki*. As Kinmochi understands the textual structure, the "one tellings" that appear in *Nihon shoki* are from the *Kojiki*, the variant texts are from miscellaneous external sources, and the main body of the text is taken from *Sendai kuji hongî*.

³¹ *Nihon shoki shiki*, 189-190.

Kinmochi's formulation is the basis for two important concepts in the modern reading of *Nihon shoki*. The first is that Kinmochi's identification of the variant texts as notes has been used as one justification for reading the main text of *Nihon shoki* only and excluding the variants. The second is what Kōnoshi Takamitsu calls the “one-dimensionalization” or the “universalization” (一元化) of Japanese mythology.³² *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Sendai kuji hongī* all espouse different mythologies, but Kinmochi's reading packages these together as differing accounts of a single mythical past. Given the analysis of *Kōnin shiki* above, we can expand on Kōnoshi's point in two ways. First, the universalization seen in Kinmochi is different from that in *Kōnin shiki*, which purported that *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* shared a compiler and were part of a single enterprise, making *Kojiki* a kind of first draft of the *Nihon shoki*. In contrast, Kinmochi, who also incorporates *Sendai kuji hongī*, treats *Kojiki* as just one more source material among many others. The second is that Kinmochi's mode of universalization makes the source material and the textual structure of *Nihon shoki* into a single issue; this is reflected in the direction Kinmochi's reply takes. By Kōnoshi's reading, this universalization takes place in what he calls the “*Nihongi* lecture discursive space,” which he pinpoints in the Heian lectures. However, Kinmochi's universalization is a direct response to the textual structure of *Nihon shoki* itself. This hints at an important point: the discursive space Kōnoshi identifies is not simply a Heian product, but a direct result of *Nihon shoki*'s textual structure. In the words of Tsuda Hiroyuki,

What also must be recognized here is that this formation [the *Nihongi* discursive space] which sucked in alternative explanations like a black hole, corresponds with the form of the divine-age volumes of *Nihon shoki* itself. It goes without saying that I refer to the recording of numerous variant texts. This [black hole formation] did not appear after the *Nihon shoki* in the *Nihongi* lecture discursive space, rather the divine-age volumes of *Nihon shoki* themselves formed the womb for the *Nihongi* lecture discursive space.³³

³² Kōnoshi Takamitsu, *Kojiki to Nihon shoki: tennō shinwa no rekishi* (Kōdansha, 1999), 164.

³³ Tsuda Hiroyuki, *Seisei suru kodai bungaku* (Shinwasha, 2014), 36.

Put differently, the universalization happening in the Heian lectures was not just a reflection of how these texts were being read but a direct consequence of the *Nihon shoki*'s textual form.

While Kinmochi's understanding differs from that seen in *Kōnin shiki*, he nonetheless used its preface to justify his thesis that *Nihon shoki*'s basic form was from the *Sendai kuji hongū* and that the variants were based on other texts that the authors wanted to include.

Question: This book's notes do not interpret the historical sentences, and largely cite "a certain text" or "an existing explanation." Why is this?

The master replied: All of these notes interpret [the historical sentences]. Only they also cite "a certain text" "a certain explanation" "it is said" "it is also said," and such; in the ancient houses interested in these matters composed texts using old words, and to some degree some numbers of these exist. When the *Nihon shoki* was compiled, while it could not adopt all of them, neither could it discard them, and there are still places where these additions are noted. The precedent for this is Pei Songzhi's *Commentary on the Records of the Three Kingdoms*. The preface to the three-volume *Kōnin* lecture notes says, "Alternative explanations deal with matter supernatural. Because they equipped themselves with extensive information, there is nothing [in this text] that is not profoundly erudite. The variant texts and other explanations are one type of alternative explanation. Refutations and colloquialisms are the other." This idea is particularly fitting to the *Commentary on the Records of the Three Kingdoms*.³⁴

問。此書之注不_レ釈_二史文_一多引_二載一書或說_一。其意如何。

師說。此注之中非_レ無_二解釋_一。但又引_二載一書一說_一。或曰。亦曰者。上古之間好事之家所_レ著古語之書。稍有_二其數_一也。撰_二此書_一之時。雖_レ不_レ盡採用_一。而亦不_レ能_レ棄。仍所_二加載_一也。是乃裴松之三國志注例也。弘仁三卷私記序云。異端小說。恠力乱神。為_レ備_二多聞_一。莫_レ不_レ該博_一。一書及或說為_二異端_一。反語及諺曰為_二小說_一也者。此意尤叶_二三國志之注_一也。

The quotation is taken directly from *Kōnin shiki*, including its half-size notes. However, where in *Kōnin shiki* the alternative explanations, in the full-size text, refer to other texts such as *Shōjiroku* and the half-size notes point to the variant texts in *Nihon shoki* along with a host of other sources, here Kinmochi makes the connection explicitly deal with the variants in *Nihon*

³⁴ *Nihon shoki shiki*, 199.

shoki. His use of *Commentary on the Records of the Three Kingdoms* (三國志注) as a paradigm draws from an earlier question:

Question: The notes in the various classics were all added by later people. The person who compiled this volume further added interpretation notes [of their own]. What does this mean?

The master replied: As for the precedent of the author including notes, there are *Tang Chronicle* (唐曆) and Shen Yue's *New Selections*. There is also Xie Lingyun's *Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains*. The notes by the compiler are then notated in the body of the text. Therefore these form the precedent of the author further adding interpretive notes. If we observe this custom, then we find notes such as these.³⁵

問。諸經史之注皆後人所加也。此書撰述之人便加「注釈」。其意如何。

師說。作者自注之例。沈約新撰并唐曆等也。又晉謝靈運山居賦。自作「其注」即載「本伝」也。然則以「此等」可「為」作者便加「注釈」之例「上」也。若「拋」習此等「有」此「注」歟。

Again, for Kinmochi, the issues of *Nihon shoki*'s source material and its structure are inextricably linked. The association of *Nihon shoki*'s formal structure with Pei Songzhi's (裴松之, 372-451) *Commentary* is seen in modern Japanese reception as well; Endō Keita has argued that the inclusion of variant texts in *Nihon shoki* was based on Pei as recently as 2009.³⁶ While there is certainly a strong case for this, it should be noted that *Commentary* incorporates additional source material along with Pei's own evaluations of its historical accuracy and is itself based on a preexisting work, *Record of the Three Kingdoms*. *Nihon shoki* simply introduces these variants without making a statement about their veracity, aside from prioritizing a single narrative as the main text. We can definitively say that Kinmochi *believed* that *Nihon shoki* was based on Pei's *Commentary*, and this complimented both Kinmochi's understanding that *Nihon*

³⁵ Ibid., 198-199.

³⁶ Endo Keita, "Nihon shoki no bunchū: denshō no fukusū sei kara," *Hisutoria* (214, 2009), 1-3.

shoki was compiled from existing textual sources and dovetailed with his argument that *Sendai kuji hongî* was the original text, the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* to Pei's *Commentary*.

The linkage with continental texts is itself of note considering that the opening of *Nihon shoki* is taken from *Huai nan zi* (淮南子, 2nd c. BCE), a borrowing that did not escape the lecture attendants. Below, Kinmochi fields a question on why a character differs from the *Huai nan zi*.

Frail fibers became sky

Question: This sentence is in the *Huai nan zi*. That book uses the character 歷, where *Nihon shoki* uses 靡. Xu Shen (許慎) and Gao You (高誘) annotated *Huai nan zi* saying, “Frail fibers (薄歷) is the appearance of dust flying upwards.” Why does *Nihon shoki* changes the character to 靡?

The master replied: The twenty characters from “from that clear bright” until “earth later settled” are all from the *Huai nan zi*. However the reason that *Nihon shoki* changes the character to 靡 is unclear. It could be because the two characters 歷 and 靡 have similar shapes, or that some versions of the *Huai nan zi* use the character 靡. However, the *Sendai kuji hongî* uses 靡, and the *Kana nihongi* reads this as “tana hikite.” Therefore the *Nihon shoki* is referencing these works. If there is some version of the *Huai nan zi* that uses 靡 then it would match this meaning.³⁷

薄靡而為天。

問。此文淮南子之文也。彼書靡字作歷。即許慎高誘等注云。薄歷者。塵飛揚之兒也。而此紀改作靡。其意如何。

師說：自及至其清陽至地後定廿餘字者。全是淮南子之文也。而此紀改作靡字者。其由未明。若歷靡兩字。其軀相似。淮南子亦有作靡之本乎。但先代旧事本紀全作靡字。假名日本紀亦「云」太奈比支天止云也。然則此紀者見彼等所作也。淮南子中若有作靡之本者。可叶此義。

Put shortly, Kinmochi has no idea why the *Nihon shoki* is written this way, but he surmises that it is because it is referencing *Sendai kuji hongî*. What is more important is that he also provides the reading of it in Japanese. Kōnosshi describes this phenomenon as “seeking the transmission on

³⁷ *Nihon shoki shiki*, 194-195.

the other side of the kanbun,” and for Kinmochi, the Japanese reading is the ultimate meaning of the text, not the sinographs.³⁸

Another example from the *Huai nan zi* appears in the previous question.

The watery expanse contained a bud

Question: The two characters “watery expanse” (溟滓) reference the continental classics, which all describe a form of heaven and earth not yet divided. How are these to be read?

The master replied: This phrase appears in the *Zhuang zi*, *Chun qiu wei*, the *Huai nan zi* and others. All of them refer to the form of heaven and earth not being divided. However, in Japanese there are five previous explanations [of the reading]. The first is *akakura ni shite*, the second is *honoka ni shite*, the third is *kukumorite*, the fourth is *kuragenaka tatayohite*, and the fifth is *kuragenaka tayutahite*. Now I think, among the five explanations, *kukumorite* should be taken as the earlier explanation. I have already discussed the phrase “heaven and earth were not divided;” this phrase matches that one’s meaning. However, these other four explanations should be taken as supplements.³⁹

溟滓而含_レ牙。

問。溟滓二字。引_二考經籍_一。皆称_二天地未_レ分之形_一。今讀_二倭語_一。其說如何。

師說。此文在_二庄子春秋緯并淮南子等_一。皆称_二天地未_レ分之形_一矣。但倭語先々有_二五說_一也。一阿加久良尔之天。二保能加尔之天。三久々毛利天。四久良介奈湏太々_レ与比天。五久良介奈湏太由太比天。今案。此五說之中。久々毛利天此說可_レ為_レ先。既云_二天地未_レ分_一。此說可_レ叶_二彼義_一。然則其外四說相副可_レ存。

As before, the important point is how to read the material in Japanese, and this emphasis includes material that is identified as continental in origin. Notably, Kinmochi does not reject the other explanations that he perceives as being of later origin, only notes that the oldest reading has the most intimate relationship with the meaning of the text as a whole. However, he is not always consistent in this regard; in other places he suggests that the *Kojiki* gives the correct reading.

³⁸ Kōnoshi, *Kojiki to Nihon shoki*, 179.

³⁹ *Nihon shoki shiki*, 193.

Whether the opening of *Nihon shoki* should be considered part of the text at all was open to debate in Heian reception; Kōnoshi raises the fact that this section was identified, in a Heian record cited in *Shaku Nihongi*, as a preface.⁴⁰ For Kōnoshi, this move is the first step in universalizing *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*; by marking the opening off as a preface and effectively divorcing it from the rest of the text, the yin-yang model of the universe is sidelined and Kinmochi can claim that the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* are in fact the same mythology. At the same time, we should note that in practice Kinmochi goes about providing the reading in Japanese for the sections taken from *Huai nan zi* just the same as the rest of the text. While labeling the opening a preface is certainly one part of Kinmochi's overall formulation that would combine *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, the onus of his exegesis rests on how to read the text in Japanese, and Kinmochi's glosses, which would draw from *Kojiki* as an original source for *Nihon shoki*, were the primary vehicle by which this formulation was realized. An example appears later in the lecture.

Like floating oil, a floating marsh

Question: This variant cites the *Kojiki*, and “floating marsh” should be read “*kurage naka tatayoheri*.” However, this is only read “*tatayoheri*.” Why is this?

The master replied: The *Kojiki*, *Jōgūki*, and *Yamato bongi* all have “*kurage naka tatayoheri*,” etc. Therefore this should be taken as the earlier explanation [of its reading]. “*Tatayoheri*” must be the later explanation.

Consultant [Ki no] Yoshimitu asked, “There is an old explanation that the two characters ‘floating marsh’ are read “*kurage naka wa tatakeri*.” This is similar to what you have just said.⁴¹

譬猶_レ浮膏_ニ而漂蕩。

問。此一書文已引_レ古事記_ニ也。然則漂蕩之文乎久良介奈湏太々_ニ与倍利_ト可_レ讀也。而只多々_ニ与倍利_ト被_レ讀。其由如何。

⁴⁰ Kōnoshi, *Kojiki to Nihon shoki*, 175-176.

⁴¹ *Nihon shoki shiki*, 200-201.

師說。古事記。上宮記。大和本紀等。皆久良介奈湏太々与倍利^と。云々。然則其說為_レ先。太々与倍利^と云乎可_レ為_二後說_一。參議淑光朝臣「問」云。或旧說。此漂蕩二字乎久良介奈湏和太々介利^と讀。於_レ今言_レ之頗似_レ有_レ便。

Here, text in the *Nihon shoki*, from variant 1.2, is compared to similar text from the *Kojiki*, and Kinmochi concludes that the *Kojiki* is in fact the original way of reading this body of material from *Nihon shoki*. As the premise of the questions shows, the assumption was that this variant in *Nihon shoki* was actually taken from *Kojiki*, but at some point an alternative gloss was erroneously attached. The most important takeaway is that Kinmochi and the lectures in general were not only trying to read *Nihon shoki* but also correct errors in the glossing. This applies to the content of *Nihon shoki* as well, as illustrated in the examples below.

Question: This note has Kashikone no mikoto second, but many others have Omodaru second. Why is this?

The master replied: This is clearly an erroneous version. The *Kojiki* has Omodaru no mikoto and Ayakashikone no mikoto as two gods. But these gods appeared together. So Ayakashikone was the younger sister of Omodaru no mikoto, further it is not the case that there is one name of Omodaru no mikoto. This is a greatly inferior version, and should be redacted.⁴²

問。此注文在_二惶根尊之下一_一。而諸本多在_二面足尊之下_一如何。

師說。是甚大誤本也。近則古事記等。面足尊。吾屋惶根尊為_二二神_一。而備_二俱生之神_一也。以_二吾屋惶根尊_一為_二面足尊之妹_一也，更不_レ為_二面足尊之一名_一也。此甚劣本也。若可_二削除_一歟。

From Kunitokotachi no mikoto to Izanaki no mikoto and Izanami no mikoto

Question: Some book does not have the four characters “Izanaki no mikoto.” Thinking on this, from the beginning to the end what is correct?

The master replied: Those that do not have these four characters are wrong books. It should be written in.

⁴² Ibid., 202.

It was also asked: Considering the *Kojiki*, it does not have these characters. These are still included in the seven generations of gods, and these are given from beginning to end. Is it a different version?

The master replied: Those included in the seven generations of gods are the three gods that appear independently and the eight gods which appear as pairs. So the eight gods are four generations, and this means that they appeared together and ruled. The two gods Izanaki and Izanami are one generation and should certainly be notated together. This is not proper in other versions.⁴³

自_二国常立尊_一迄_二伊弉諾尊伊弉冉尊_一。

問。或本無_二伊弉諾尊四箇字_一。今案。自_二最初_一至_二最後_一以_レ何為_レ正。

師說。無_二此四箇字_一者誤本也。可_二書入_一。

又問。今考_二古事記等_一。亦無_二此等字_一。此猶神代七世之內。起_レ自_二最初_一迄_二于最後_一歟。若為_二異本_一如何。

師說。神代七世之內。独生神三柱。俱生神八柱也。彼八柱即為_二四世_一。是乃俱生治世之義也。然則伊弉諾伊弉冉二神。必可_二共注為_二一代_一。不_レ可_レ為_二異本_一。

These two responses illustrate how Kinmochi negotiated differences in *Nihon shoki* versions, and in both cases he incorporates the narrative from *Kojiki* in the response. However, he is not single-mindedly following the *Kojiki*, and more importantly, he shows some flexibility in his attitude towards the *Nihon shoki*, suggesting that in some cases information should be added or subtracted to keep the record straight.

Above, the provision of *kun* readings and the idea that the *Nihon shoki* was based on *Sendai kuji hongu* and *Kojiki*, that is, the idea of source texts, served as the vehicles for Kinmochi's formulation that unified *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* mythology. As Kōnoshi has pointed out, the discussion of the seven generations of gods, which differs between *Kojiki* and *Nihon*

⁴³ Ibid., 202-203.

shoki, is here unified into a single mythology.⁴⁴ At the same time, it is worth noting that in the Heian court lectures, some inconsistency between the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and the variant texts in *Nihon shoki* was tolerated. For example, in looking at the *Shaku Nihongi* citations from two records given as *Shiki* and *Kinmochi shiki*, all three versions of Amaterasu's birth are commented on, but the seeming inconsistency between the versions is ignored. The issue in the *Nihon shoki* main text version of Amaterasu's birth concerns yin and yang; why the sun (yang) would be female (yin) and rule over the male (yang) moon (yin) was confusing; *Kinmochi shiki* simply says that the reasoning for this is unclear.⁴⁵ However, it does note that Susano-o calls Amaterasu his older sister, therefore the god is definitely female. The mirror story follows shortly thereafter, and the questioning centers on how to read the styling applied to mirror (*masumi*) and where the mirror came from if the world had not yet been created.⁴⁶ Finally, when Susano-o declares that he wants to go to his mother's country, there is a question about who his mother is.⁴⁷ The response given is that Susano-o was not born of Izanami, but that Izanaki and Izanami were a married couple. This corresponds with what Tsuda calls an "ultra overlapping ideology" in the *Sendai kuji hongī*, which will be addressed in detail below. The salient point here is that the universalization of mythology that Kōnoshi identifies occurs within a context of this overlapping ideology that allowed for multiple conflicting narratives to exist side-by-side without compromising the integrity of the text as a whole.

The final reading was held in the eighth month, 13th day of Kōhō 2 (965). *Nihongi kōrei* in *Shaku Nihongi* records the lecturer as Governor of Setsu Tachibana no Nakatō (橘仲遠, ??-??)

⁴⁴ Kōnoshi, *Kojiki to Nihon shoki*, 178-179.

⁴⁵ *Shaku Nihongi*, 79.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

and the location as the east room of the Giyōden. Like the first three readings, no information about a conclusion banquet is present; Sakamoto presumes that this means one did not occur. In the case of this final reading, he further posits that “perhaps because of excessive formality, the court lost the energy to hold a completion banquet.”⁴⁸

The sections from the lecture notes quoted above have drawn from the four texts in the *Nihon shoki shiki* as it appears in the *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*, from which modern scholarship draws the convention of labeling the four included lectures as *kō*, *otsu*, *hei*, and *tei*. As noted above, because the second and third of these clearly post-date the lectures in their entirety, the first and fourth manuscripts have been the focus. However, there are several other sources for lecture notes on the *Nihon shoki*. In terms of the themes discussed here: universalization of multiple texts via the *kun* readings and variants, there is no major deviation, but these materials bear mentioning as a further source for approaching the *Nihongi* lectures. *Honchō shojaku mokuroku*, a thirteenth-century catalogue of early Japanese books, lists a number of texts that would fall under the category of *shiki* or “private writings” (私記), personal notes on *Nihon shoki* exegesis. It gives a *Yōrō 5 shiki* in one volume, a *Kōnin 4 shiki* in three volumes, a *Jōwa 6 shiki*, a *Gangyō 2 shiki* in one volume, an *Engi 4 shiki* in one volume, a *Jōhei 6 shiki*, and a *Kōhō 2 shiki*,⁴⁹ we should note that these *shiki* are no longer extant. *Honchō shojaku mokuroku* also lists a question-and-answer section from a lecture, the *Nihongi mondō*, in one volume.⁵⁰ Kōnoshi suggests, however, that the compiler of *Honchō* was not necessarily seeing these materials directly and that by this point these lecture notes were already lost.⁵¹ However, citations to

⁴⁸ Sakamoto, 78.

⁴⁹ Wada Hidematsu, *Honchō shojaku mokuroku kōshō* (Meiji shoin, 1936), 85-96.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁵¹ Kōnoshi Takamitsu, *Hensō sareru nihon shoki* (Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2009), 67.

various lectures appear in other texts, opening the issue of to what degree these materials can be reconstructed.⁵² The most important take-away from research on this topic is that there is reasonable evidence that the fourth manuscript discussed above preserves the original Jōhei lectures notes and that the *Shaku Nihongi* uses a variant version of this text in its own citations. Further, based on comparison between *Shaku Nihongi* and several *Nihon shoki* manuscripts, Kōnoshi has suggested that the *Kinmochi shiki* which is cited in *Shaku Nihongi* refers to Kinmochi's notes on a pre-existing shiki, likely the Gangyō lecture which Kinmochi attended as a student.⁵³

New Mythologies in Completion Banquet Poetry

After the completion of lectures on *Nihon shoki* in 878, 904, and 936, prominent aristocrats gathered with academics from of the Bureaus of History (kidendō, 紀伝道) and Confucian Classics (myōgyōdō, 明経道) at a celebratory banquet. The precise format of this banquet is described in detail in the *Record of the Western Palace* (*Saikyūki*, 西宮記) and provided in translation in Appendix A. Like many Heian ceremonies, poetry composition occupied a central role at these banquets, and over eighty of these poems (kyōen waka, 章宴和歌) survive. The notes from the lectures discussed earlier in the chapter provide a window into Heian commentarial scholarship, while these poems illustrate how *Nihon shoki* was read and understood by the general Heian elite. The most significant feature of the poems is their attempt to create a historical continuity between the age of the gods and the Heian present, largely

⁵² Analysis of this research will be omitted here; for details, see Ōta Shōjirō, “Jōdai ni okeru Nihongi kō kyū,” in *Ōta Shōjirō chosakushū 3* (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1992), Kōnoshi, *Hensō* (note 46), and Kanazawa Hideyuki, “Iwashizumi hachimangū Okagami Tōji dai san shoin Nihongi shiki ni tsuite,” *Jodai bungaku* 80 (1998).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 100.

through the identification of blessings received, expressions of thankfulness for meritorious deeds, and reassertion of the persistence of the imperial line. In order to accomplish this, the poets frequently employed innovative reinterpretations of the contents of *Nihon shoki*, made substantial use of its numerous variant texts, and even introduced new material not included in the original.

The primary source for these poems is a twelfth-century text, *Nihongi kyōen waka* (日本紀竟宴和歌), whose author is uncertain but likely Fujiwara no Akisuke (藤原顕輔, 1090-1155).⁵⁴ It contains eighty-three poems, each followed by explanatory notes, as well as the prefaces for the banquets that followed the 904 and 936 lectures. In the translations that follow, the notes will be omitted as they were written in Akisuke's time, significantly later than the poems were composed.⁵⁵ Scholarship in Japan has focused almost entirely on the linguistic elements of this text, as the poems are a valuable source of Early Middle Japanese and the notes for twelfth-century kana usage, but here the analysis will center on how the poems interpret Japanese mythology in comparison with *Nihon shoki*. Gustav Heldt has discussed parallels between this ceremony and banquets following the reading of Confucian texts or at which Chinese poetry would be composed as well as the conclusion banquet's potential connections to the *Kokin wakashū*, but the relationship of the poems to *Nihon shoki* itself falls outside the scope of Heldt's discussion.⁵⁶ For reference, the entirety of *Nihongi kyōen waka* is provided in translation in Appendix B.

⁵⁴ Nishimiya Kazutami, *Nihon jōdai no bunshō to hyōki* (Kazama shobō, 1988), 332.

⁵⁵ *Nihongi kyōen waka* itself and the impetus for its creation are discussed in the following chapter on late Heian poetry treatises.

⁵⁶ Gustav Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan* (Cornell University, 2008), 74-80.

In the official court histories, the most detailed description of the conclusion ceremony records the banquet that followed the 878 Gangyō lecture, which began on the 29th day, eighth month of 882.

A *Nihongi* conclusion banquet was held to the south of the Jijūkyoku in the room for palace officials of the Minister of the Right. Earlier, on Gangyō 2 (878), second month, twenty-fifth day, Yoshibuchi no Chikanari, junior fifth rank lower, was ordered to read the *Nihongi* in the east chamber of the Giyōden. Senior secretary of the Council of State Shimada no Yoshiomi, junior fifth rank lower, and some number of students in the Bureaus of Confucian Classics and History lectured on the text. The Chancellor [Fujiwara no Mototsune], the Minister of the Right [Minamoto no Masaru], and all the ministers listened to the reading. In the fifth year (881), sixth month, twenty-ninth day, the reading concluded. On this occasion a conclusion banquet was announced; imperial princes and those of fifth rank and above all attended. Excerpts from *Nihongi* about virtuous emperors and famous ministers were assigned to the Chancellor and those who had attended the lecture of rank six and above, and each composed Japanese poems. The other people there that day searched the histories and composed poems. Musical recitation was frequently matched and they drank wine and finished [the banquet]. The master and all the lecturers received presents in accordance with their status. Those of the fifth rank and above received silk from the imperial treasury. The record of the proceedings was deposited with the council secretary.⁵⁷

於侍從局南右大臣曹司。設日本紀竟宴。先是。元慶二年二月廿五日。於宜陽殿東廂。令從五位下助教善淵朝臣愛成讀日本紀。從五位下行大外記嶋田朝臣良臣。及文章明經得業生學生數人遞為都講。太政大臣右大臣及諸公卿並聽之。五年六月廿九日講竟。至是申僥章之宴。親王以下五位以上畢至。抄出日本紀中聖德帝王有名諸臣。分宛太政大臣以下。預講席六位以上。各作倭歌。自余當日探史而作之。琴歌繁會。歡飲竟景。博士及都講賜物有差。五位以上賜內藏寮綿。行事外記史預焉。

The preface for this banquet is not included in *Nihongi kyōen waka*, but there is a brief description of its contents in the Kamakura commentary *Shaku Nihongi* (釈日本紀, c. 1275).

The preface for the banquet was written by senior secretary of the Ministry for Central Affairs Sugano no Koreyuki, junior fifth rank lower. The poets were imperial prince and Minister of War Motoyasu and 30 others, along with the lecturer and writer of the preface. The preface says, “In the period [the lecture was being performed in], his honor [Fujiwara no Mototsune] became Chancellor. The secret documents were attended to by the

⁵⁷ *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, 525.

assistant governor of Iyo [Yoshibuchi no Chikanari]. In the eighth month of 882, his honor led all of the ministers in the ceremonies for the closing banquet.”⁵⁸

竟宴。同六年秋八月。

序者。從五位下行大内記菅野朝臣惟肖。

歌人。兵部卿本廉親王以下卅人。博士序者加_レ之。

序云。中間相府轉_レ大政大臣_一。秘書拜_レ予州別駕_一。壬寅歲秋八月。相府率_レ唱群公_一。聊行_レ澆章之礼_一。

Unfortunately only two poems from this banquet survive, both by Fujiwara no Kunitsune (藤原国経, 828-908), whose poems are also included in the *Kokin wakashū* (古今和歌集, 905) and the *Shoku kokin wakashū* (続古今和歌集, 1265). He composed on the legendary emperor Nintoku (仁徳, r. 313-399).

*keburi naki
yado o megumishi
sumera koso
yaso tose amari
kuni shirashikere*

As the emperor
who showed mercy on the houses
from which no smoke rose,
for over eighty years
he ruled the state.

*Ōsazaki
takatsu no miya no
ame moru o
fukasenu koto o
tami wa yorokobu*

Ōsazaki [Nintoku],
because he did not plug up
the rain that leaked
from his palace in Takatsu,
the people were delighted.⁵⁹

Two initial observations can be made despite the scant documentation remaining from the Gangyō banquet. First, the banquets were a major event attended by figures central to the Heian court, including the Chancellor and imperial princes. Second, the waka composed on virtuous emperors and famous ministers dwelt, as seen in the poem on Nintoku, on the benefits enjoyed by the people courtesy of these mytho-historical figures. The note that the participants spent time “searching the histories” suggests that the poetry is not entirely spontaneous, and speaks to the

⁵⁸ *Shaku Nihongi*, 15.

⁵⁹ Nishizaki Tōru, *Honmyōji bon Nihongi kyōen waka honbun sakuin kenkyū* (Kanrin shobō, 1994), 17-18.

fact that conclusion banquet poems were expected to convey some information about the historical past. The “secret documents” (秘書) noted in the preface almost certainly refer to reading notes (*shiki*, 私記) like those discussed earlier in the chapter.

The two poems are not particularly interesting in terms of formal elements, but this is a general characteristic of *Nihongi* conclusion banquet poetry as a whole. Much of the reason these poems remain unstudied in both Japanese and foreign scholarship lies in their contrasting style to what could be considered more orthodox mid-Heian poetry, such as that seen in the *Kokin wakashū*, replete with pivot words (*kakekotoba*), poetic diction, seasonal associations, and other rhetorical tropes. One possibility is that the writers of these poems were making a concerted effort not to include such devices, and it has been suggested, particularly in the poems written by court scholars, that the deliberate use of older vocabulary reflects a desire to resuscitate poetry as Heian elites imagined it existed in the ancient period.⁶⁰ The poem here recounts an episode in *Nihon shoki* where Nintoku climbs a hill and, seeing no cooking fires in the land, issued a three-year tax and corvee labor holiday. The consequences of this appear in the second poem, when his palace falls into disrepair.⁶¹ Kunitsune draws two aspects of an ideal ruler from the episode: one who rules for a long time, and one who delivers happiness to the people even at personal expense. *Nihon shoki* itself does not claim the people delighted in their ruler’s poverty; rather they were terrified that it constituted a crime against heaven, but Kunitsune equates happiness with their material prosperity. More importantly, the tenor of conclusion banquet poems in praising the achievements of the past (and identifying models for the future) is quite clear.

⁶⁰ See Umemura Remi, *Nihongi kyōen waka no kenkyū* (Kazama shobō, 2010).

⁶¹ *Nihon shoki* 2, ed. Sakamoto Tarō, Ienaga Saburō, Inoue Mitsusada, Ōno Susumu (Iwanami, 1994), 234-240.

The rationale behind the conclusion banquets is given in more detail in the preface that celebrated completion of the 904 lecture.

At the *Nihongi* concluding banquet, we each divided up historical topics and I received Kamuyamatoiwarebiko no sumera mikoto (Jinmu), combined with the preface.

By Senior Secretary of the Ministry for Central Affairs and Assistant Governor of Suō, Mimune no Masahira, junior fifth rank lower.

The *Nihon shoki* was compiled by imperial prince Toneri, Ō no Yasumaro, junior fourth rank lower, and others. The age of the gods is divided into upper and lower, and the human emperors are in 28 volumes, making 30 volumes all together. They succeeded in editing it with additions and omissions. Since the summons to study this record in the Gangyō era (the previous 878 lecture), it has not been lectured on for more than 20 years. People now discreetly lament that the explanations of the teacher will be lost. In 904, an imperial order was issued for the head of the academy [Fujiwara no Harumi] to explain them. He made inquiry of meanings and responded to questions, cited the contradictions of previous teachers, and logically worked through the ideas of his juniors. Indeed, there was no losing interest in his teaching, and his advice overflowed within our bosoms. He began on the twenty-first day, eighth month in autumn of the fourth year (904) and finished on the twenty-second day, tenth month in winter of the sixth year (906). Then, on the seventeenth day of the intercalary twelfth month, small though it was, a concluding banquet was conducted in gratitude to the master. At that time, among the aristocrats and ministers that were serving in the court, there was none that did not attend. After many rounds of wine, the interest of those who attended the lectures was soaring,⁶² and so we wrote poetry about the old histories, each proclaiming our feelings of connection [to the past] and sentiments. Mine was:

<i>tobikakeru</i>	Seeking
<i>ama no iwabune</i>	the flying
<i>tazunete zo</i>	rock-boat of heaven,
<i>Akitsushima ni wa</i>	in Akitsushima
<i>miya hajimeseru</i>	he built his palace. ⁶³

日本紀竟宴各分史。得神日本磐余彦天皇并序。

從五位下大内記兼周防權介三統宿禰理平

日本書紀者。一品舍人親王從四位下太朝臣安滿等奉。敕所撰也。神代上下紀帝世廿八紀惣三十卷。筆削成功。其勤至矣。此紀元慶鼓篋以來二十餘年。倚席不講。時人窃歎師說將墮。甲子歲降綸旨。令大學頭藤大夫說之。大夫下意之間。上說而

⁶² Lit. their “ears were burning,” a Chinese expression for describing a state of intense interest and often paired with depictions of alcohol consumption.

⁶³ Nishizaki, *Honmyōji* 19-23. Punctuation to original added by author.

答。挙前儒之干矛。鑿後生之耳目。況亦教而無倦。勸以傾懷。始於四年秋八月廿一日。終於六年冬十月廿二日。即閏十二月十七日。聊屈師礼。以成竟宴。于時在朝公卿大夫。莫不畢会焉。数巡酒候。座人耳熱。宜歌旧史。各述緣情。其詞云。

渡飛加氣留
阿麻能依波布禰
多都禰弓蘇
阿岐都志麻珥波
美野波志迷勢留

Like the 812 *Kōnin shiki*, Masahira identifies Ō no Yasumaro as one of *Nihon shoki*'s compilers; this unverifiable attribution had apparently become established truth in the discursive space surrounding *Nihon shoki* at the lectures and functioned to amalgamate Yasumaro's 712 *Kojiki* with the *Nihon shoki*. Masahira also expresses the same sentiments regarding the impetus for the lectures seen in *Kōnin shiki*, namely that the proper reading of *Nihon shoki* in the vernacular and meaning of the text was in danger of being lost. This is in some ways counterintuitive as the *Kōnin shoki* itself was a record of those readings, but as seen in the discussion of the lecture notes, readings were in a constant state of revision and flux.

The ceremony itself was clearly a major event at court, and Masahira's claim that the banquet was modest is immediately retracted by the claim that everybody of importance was in attendance. He also explicitly notes the connections the listeners felt to the stories of the past and makes the practice of banquet poetry seem spontaneous and natural, a contrast to the 882 lecture where the participants "searched the histories" for information for their compositions. The connection that Masahira claims the poets felt is reflected in the poetry itself. Masahira's poem on Emperor Jinmu focuses on the founding of the empire to emphasize continuity with the contemporary imperial household. Notably, Jinmu did not coin the term Akitsushima until thirty-one years after building his palace in Kashiwara, but Masahira elides the long gap between these events. More interesting is that of all the important steps in *Nihon shoki*'s version of Jinmu's

establishment of the state: numerous battles, divination, supernatural intervention, and poetic composition, Masahira chooses to incorporate the god Nigihayahi, pilot of the rock boat of heaven, in the opening stanza of the poem.

Consequently, the poems on Nigihayahi are one of the most obvious places that the mythology as recounted by the banquet poetry diverges from that of the base text. In the *Nihon shoki*, Nigihayahi appears in two places in the Jinmu volume. First, at the opening of the volume, Jinmu recalls that he heard of someone who flew down from heaven on a stone ship and that this is probably Nigihayahi – this is the reference being used in Masahira’s poem. Nigihayahi is identified as living in a bountiful land at the center of the country where Jinmu sought to build his capital, although in the original Jinmu’s motivation for moving there is more connected to founding an empire than chasing down Nigihayahi. The second reference occurs three years before Jinmu founds the empire. Nigihayahi’s brother-in-law proves to Jinmu that Nigihayahi is also a heavenly god and leads a rebellion in Nigihayahi’s name, but Nigihayahi himself goes on to kill the brother-in-law and submits to Jinmu’s rule. The incident is especially important in demonstrating that in the worldview of the *Nihon shoki*, Jinmu is not the only descendant of a heavenly deity. However, it is only one of many episodes that establish Jinmu’s legitimacy and there is no real reason to give it special status over any other. Masahira’s composition suggests that in the Heian period, Nigihayahi had taken on a larger role in the founding of the empire than seen in *Nihon shoki*’s mythology.

Looking at the other three banquet poems on Nigihayahi buttresses the hypothesis that in the Heian period, this god was given a more oversized role that strongly incorporated him into the imperial foundation narrative. This dovetails with the argument of Tokumori Makoto, who uses the same poems to demonstrate that Nigihayahi’s mythology in the waka diverges from his

depiction in *Nihon shoki*.⁶⁴ The first two of these poems are from the same 906 banquet as Masahira's composition.

*soramitsu ni
ama no iwafune
kudashishi wa
hijiri no miyo o
watasu tote nari*

In order to transmit
the sage's august reign,
it was he who descended
in the heavenly rock boat
looking from the sky.

*hisakata no
ama no ha ba ya no
mukari seba
araburu hito o
nani ka mukemashi*

If he did not have
the *hisakata*
heavenly feathered bow and arrows,
how would he have pacified
the rampaging people?⁶⁵

These two poems were written by student and *onson* (蔭孫)⁶⁶ Fujiwara no Tadanori (藤原忠紀, ??-??), junior seventh rank upper. Here, Nigihayahi's descent from heaven is taken as the passage of the "sage's august reign," i.e. the legitimacy of the Yamato state on earth. Tadanori goes so far as to suggest that this was Nigihayahi's motivation for leaving heaven, although *Nihon shoki* does not speak on why Nigihayahi descended to Yamato. The phrase "sora mitsu" (空見つ) appears in the *Man'yōshū* as a pillow-word for Yamato, but here is applied to the heavenly rock boat "ama no iwafune," suggesting that Nigihayahi is looking down on Yamato from the sky as he rides on the boat. The appellation "sora mitsu yamato" is attributed to Nigihayahi in *Nihon shoki*, explaining why Tadanori chose to include it in the composition. The second poem extrapolates that the heavenly feathered bow and arrows that Nigihayahi's brother-in-law showed Jinmu as proof of Nigihayahi's status as a heavenly deity were in fact used by Nigihayahi himself to quell "rampaging people," though in *Nihon shoki* Nigihayahi simply

⁶⁴ See Tokumori Makoto, "Nihongi kyōen waka ni okeru Nigihayahi: Heianki no Nihongi gensetsu," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 861 (1995).

⁶⁵ Nishizaki, 31-34.

⁶⁶ *Onson* refers to a rank received based on heredity rather than having been awarded.

assumes leadership of his brother-in-law's people after killing him. There is no description of Nigihayahi engaging in violent pacification, other than killing his brother-in-law, nor does it say he ever used the heavenly feathered bow and arrows. This expanded role for Nigihayahi, in which he arrives in Yamato before Jinmu and pacifies any rebellious denizens in advance so the reign can readily be passed on, is entirely imagined by Tadanori. It strongly resembles the role assigned to several gods in the divine-age volumes who are dispatched to the central reed-plain country to quell it prior to Ninigi's descent from heaven.

The last poem on Nigihayahi is from the banquet that occurred in 943, by head lesser Controller of the Left Fujiwara no Arisuke (藤原有和, ??-??), junior fifth rank upper.

<i>kudari koshi</i>	The heavenly rock boat
<i>ama no iwafune</i>	which came down from heaven
<i>iwarebiko</i>	was a sign
<i>miya hajimeseru</i>	to Jinmu
<i>shirube narikeri</i>	to build his palace. ⁶⁷

Here, Arisuke imagines that Nigihayahi served as a kind of signal for Jinmu, concretely linking Nigihayahi's descent to the founding of the Yamato state itself. In the sense that Nigihayahi descended to the Nara basin, where Jinmu would go on to found the state, Jinmu encountering Nigihayahi is a signal that Jinmu had arrived in the place he had set out to find. However, Jinmu's actual building of the palace occurs several months after the encounter with Nigihayahi and after several other groups of rebels had been quelled; only then could Jinmu claim that he had pacified the land and begin building his capital.

Tokumori argues that these issues suggest that the heavenly rock boat and the heavenly feathered bow and arrows create a new mythology that more concretely evinces Nigihayahi's connection to Jinmu and the imperial house, and further, that the origin of this new mythology is

⁶⁷ Ibid., 123-124.

based on the vagueness of the description of Nigihayahi in *Nihon shoki*.⁶⁸ By deliberately leaving out any concrete information about Nigihayahi, only mentioning him at the beginning and end of the volume in two unrelated events, *Nihon shoki* rejects the kind of “pre-established harmony” between Jinmu and Nigihayahi that is suggested in the poems.⁶⁹ The narrative of Jinmu in *Nihon shoki* is one of conquest and violent subjugation, but in these poems, Nigihayahi is reimagined in a position that not only legitimizes Jinmu’s rule but also suggests a degree of continuity and harmony between the two, a major deviation from how Nigihayahi appears in *Nihon shoki*. Elsewhere, this extra-textual continuity is attributed to the imperial line itself. The following poem by the 904 lecturer, Fujiwara no Harumi, goes far afield of *Nihon shoki* mythology.

On Kunitokotachi no mikoto

Director of the Academy Fujiwara no Harumi, junior fifth rank lower

ashikabi no

kami no kizashi mo

tōkarazu

amatsu hitsugi no

hajime to omoeba

The sprout of a god,

like the budding of a reed,

is not so long ago

when considering it is the beginning
of the imperial succession.⁷⁰

The poem itself is relatively straightforward in meaning, clearly aiming to connect Kunitokotachi to the imperial house and the present. However, this god is not a scion of the imperial house in *Nihon shoki*, a role reserved for Takamimusubi and Amaterasu, nor does he appear outside of the opening story of heaven and earth dividing. Harumi’s social position is also significant; as Director of the Academy and lecturer for the 904 reading of the text, he was almost certainly the leading scholar on *Nihon shoki* in his time. The first two lines of the poem are nearly a quotation from the text, reflecting Harumi’s deep grounding in how to read the text in Japanese, but in the

⁶⁸Tokumori, 19.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 23.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 23-24.

poem's close, Harumi is reaching to make Kunitokotachi relevant to the present by departing from the content of *Nihon shoki*.

Another similar reinterpretation is seen in two poems by Harumi's student at the 904 lecture Yatabe no Kinmochi, who would go on to become the lecturer for the 936 reading.

Two poems on Ama no Hohi

Student and *onson* Yatabe no Kinmochi, junior seventh rank lower

*Ama no hohi
kami no mioya wa
yasakani no
ihotsu subaru no
tama to koso kike*

I have heard that
the parent of the god
Ama no Hohi was
the eight-foot string
of five-hundred jewels.

*kusaki mina
koto yameyo tote
ashihara no
kuni e tachinishi
isao narikeri*

Telling the grass and trees all
to stop talking,
he was a brave hero
who departed for the country
of the reed plain.⁷¹

Like Harumi's composition, these poems again connect the divine-age to the present, though here using hearsay. The grammatical subject of the first poem is Kinmochi himself, who "heard" about Ama no Hohi's birth; the last words of the second poem reinforce this, with the phrase "narikeri" poetically expressing Kinmochi's discovery of this knowledge about Ama no Hohi, reference to the information propagated at the lectures. However, this lionization of Ama no Hohi is puzzling given what *Nihon shoki* actually has to say about this deity. Ama no Hohi is identified by the myriad gods as brave (*isao*), but when he is dispatched to the central country to pacify the rampaging gods, he betrays his charge and seeks the favor of the current ruler of the central country, Ōnamochi. Kinmochi's compositions focus on Ama no Hohi's initial descent and ignore his failure in the attitude that all is well that ends well; so long as the eventual

⁷¹ Nishizaki, 28-31.

outcome, pacification of the land, is completed, the state and line could be founded. In other words, Kinmochi makes it seem as though Ama no Hohi was an integral part of this endeavor even though he was actually an impediment to it.

Connecting the divine age to the present is also an integral part of the two poems Kinmochi wrote at the banquet following the 936 lecture, which he presided over. However, in this case, the feelings of thankfulness toward the gods who participated in the founding of the realm are made far more explicit.

Two poems on Ōnamochi
Provisional Assistant Governor⁷² of Kii Yatabe no Kinmochi, junior fifth rank lower

<i>kunimukeshi</i>	For the blessings
<i>hoko no saki yori</i>	that came from
<i>tsutae kuru</i>	the tip of the halberd
<i>mitama no fuyu</i>	used to pacify the country,
<i>kefu zo ureshiki</i>	we rejoice today.

<i>chihoaki no</i>	The aftermath
<i>kuni osametaru</i>	of unifying the country
<i>ato o nomi</i>	of 1,500 harvests
<i>yorozu yo ima mo</i>	will not be forgotten
<i>wasure ya wa nasu</i>	now or ever. ⁷³

The first poem is a mishmash of several parts of *Nihon shoki*. The halberd used to pacify the land that Kinmochi refers to is seen in the main text of section 9, when Ōnamochi hands it over to the gods sent to subdue him. Ōnamochi claims that if the heavenly descendant, founder of the imperial line, rules the people using this halberd tranquility will ensue, one sense of the blessings that Kinmochi refers to. However, the word “mitama no fuyu” (恩頼) used in line 4 is from variant 6 of section 8, when Ōnamochi and another god, Sukuna bikona, finish creating the land. At that point, the two gods teach the people how to treat venomous stings and bites and

⁷² A gyō position.

⁷³ Ibid., 152-154.

how to cure diseases, and *Nihon shoki* says that “the people enjoy these blessings (mitama no fuyu) even today.”⁷⁴ Originally, the halberd and the blessings do not have anything to do with each other, but Kinmochi combines them in a comprehensive flattening of Ōnamochi’s accomplishments. Finally, no halberd tip is mentioned in relation to Ōnamochi anywhere; the twelfth-century commentator of *Nihongi kyōen waka* takes this as a reference to the heavenly jeweled spear Izanami and Izanaki dipped into the ocean at the beginning of time. At any rate it is an original addition. In the second poem, Kinmochi asserts that Ōnamochi’s abdication as master of the land will not be forgotten, linking the events of the divine age to the present.

The poems above illustrate two key elements of conclusion banquet waka. First, the perception that the results of meritorious deeds of figures in the divine age continue to be enjoyed in the present speaks to why the *Nihon shoki* lectures took place. Not only did they serve to reinforce the legitimacy of the imperial system by recounting its origins, they also concretely linked that mythology to the lived present of Heian aristocrats. Second, the poem puts together a variant and the main version of *Nihon shoki* into a new whole, showing that in the discursive space of the Heian lectures, multiple conflicting mythologies could be pieced apart and reassembled. Tokumori raises the poems on Nigihayahi to illustrate the creation of a new mythology that differs from the original, but this idea can be expanded more generally to say that the new myths created by the banquet poems connect everything in the divine age to the present through the imperial line, harmonious founding of the state, or blessings received by the people.

The use of variant texts of *Nihon shoki* for poetic composition appears multiple times, suggesting that the type of flexibility displayed by Kinmochi’s composition above is not an

⁷⁴ *Nihon shoki I*, ed. Sakamoto Tarō, Ienaga Saburō, Inoue Mitsusada, Ōno Susumu (Iwanami, 1994), 102.

outlier. For example, the following poem is composed on a god who does not appear in the main narrative of *Nihon shoki* at all.

On Sarutahiko
Assistant to the Punishments Ministry Ki no Yoshimochi, junior fifth-rank lower

<i>hisakata no</i>	He parts
<i>ama no yaegumo</i>	the eight-layered clouds of heaven
<i>furiwakete</i>	in the sky;
<i>kudarishi kimi o</i>	it is I who welcome
<i>ware zo mukaeshi</i>	this lord who descends. ⁷⁵

Ki no Yoshimochi (紀淑望, ??-919) is well-known as the composer of the *mana* preface to the *Kokin wakashū*. The poem describes an episode from variant 1 of section 9 of *Nihon shoki*, which is the only place that the poem's subject, Sarutahiko, appears in the *Nihon shoki*; Sarutahiko has a more prominent role in *Kojiki*, *Kogo shūi*, and *Sendai kuji hongei*. The poem uniquely takes on the viewpoint of its subject, who proudly asserts his role in Ninigi's descent narrative. Use of the first person allows Yoshimochi to duplicate Sarutahiko's recognition of Ninigi's legitimacy and his own of the imperial house, connecting the mythical episode to the present. At the same time, the majority of the poem is dedicated not to Sarutahiko himself but to describing Ninigi's descent, and Sarutahiko's fearsome appearance, described at length in the variant, and his relationship with Ama no uzume are ignored.

Another example is composed on Ukemochi no kami, a goddess of agriculture who is only seen in a *Nihon shoki* variant and not present in the *Kojiki*.

On Ukemochi no kami
Master of the deities of heaven and earth Ōnakatomi no Yasunori, junior fifth rank upper

<i>Ukemochi no</i>	The power of the goddess
<i>kami no chikara wa</i>	Ukemochi was
<i>itsukusa no</i>	bringing forth from her body

⁷⁵ Nishizaki, 42.

*tanatsu mono o zo
mi yori nashitaru*

the five types
of grains.⁷⁶

Like Sarutahiko, the subject of this poem, Ukemochi, only appears in a *Nihon shoki* variant, section 5.11, as well as in the *Sendai kuji hongî*. The poem explains the origin of cereals, connecting a mythical event to present circumstances. According to *Nihon shoki*, when Amaterasu heard about the grains that came from Ukemochi she asserted that they could be used for the people of the world for sustenance, and the poem focuses on this exclusively. Conversely, Ukemochi's slaughter by Tsukuyomi and the relationship between the sun and the moon that appears in *Nihon shoki* is ignored. Ukemochi was also a poetic subject in the following banquet in Tengyō 6, when the following was composed.

On Ukemochi no kami
Master of the War Ministry⁷⁷ Minamoto no Yoshimichi, junior fourth rank lower

<i>Itsukusa no</i>	The five types
<i>tanatsu mono oba</i>	of grains
<i>Ukemochi no</i>	were made by
<i>kami zo nashikeru</i>	Ukemochi no kami
<i>yorozu yo no tame</i>	for the sake of all the ages of the world. ⁷⁸

This poem identifies the beneficiaries of Ukemochi's action or sacrifice and adds a stronger connotation of thankfulness than in the previous poem on Ukemochi by Yasunori. That a god who appears only briefly in one of the shortest variant texts was the subject of poems at both the Engi and Tengyō banquets reflects that Ukemochi was held in high esteem in the mid-Heian.

The poems above demonstrate both the creativity of Heian aristocrats in reinterpreting the text and the importance of the *Nihon shoki* variants to this endeavor. More generally, the

⁷⁶ Ibid., 57.

⁷⁷ A gyō position.

⁷⁸ Nishizaki, 136-137.

conclusion banquet poems suggest that the *Nihon shoki* lectures were not performed solely as an affirmation of imperial authority, and further, they confirm that the text was not envisioned as a dead historical record of things past, but rather a source for understanding the present. The examples above have been taken from poems on the divine age, the most remote period from the lived time of the poets, but the themes explored apply to poems composed on human figures in *Nihon shoki* as well.

Derivatives in Conclusion Banquet Poetry

Many of the poems above reinterpret the text's mythology in a way that departs from the narrative thrust of the text itself, but one is composed on an episode that does not appear in *Nihon shoki* at all. The poem is by Fujiwara no Morotada (藤原師尹, 920-969), from the banquet following the 936 lecture. The twelfth-century note from *Nihongi kyōen waka* is included for context.

On Shōtoku Taishi

Controller of the Right⁷⁹ Fujiwara no Morotada, junior fourth rank lower

*Saki niou
hana oba okite
toyoto miko
matsu ni ha mimasu
iro nakarikeri*

Bringing forth the flowers
that are fragrant and blooming,
to the prince Toyoto,
there is none
that surpasses the pine.

In spring, on a morning when the peach flowers were in bloom, his father the imperial prince and Prince Shōtoku were enjoying themselves in the garden. The imperial prince asked Shōtoku, “Do you favor seeing the flowers of the peach or the needles of the pine?” Shōtoku replied, “I favor the pine.” The imperial prince asked him again, “Why is that?” Shōtoku replied, “The flowers of the peach are ephemeral, but the pine is a tree of longevity. Therefore it is more beautiful,” he said.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ A gyō position.

⁸⁰ Nishizaki, 125-126.

得聖徳太子
従四位下行右中弁藤原朝臣師尹
佐支弭保敷
波奈乎者於幾弓
登与止美己
萬津爾者見萬須
伊呂那賀利介里

はるもゝのはなのあしたにちゝのみこ太子ともろとむにそのにあそひたまふにみ
ことひてのたまはくもゝのはなをやたのしひとするまつのはをやおもしろしとす
ると太子こたへたまはくまつのはをおもしろしとすみこまたとふたまふいかなれ
はそと太子こたへたまはくもゝのはなはしはらくのものまつのはゝひさしきゝな
りそへにおもしろしとのたまへり

This episode is recounted in *Shōtoku taishi denryaku* (聖徳太子伝暦, 917), an early biography of Prince Shōtoku, but is not mentioned in *Nihon shoki* at all.⁸¹ The aberration was noted very early in scholarship on the poems, but its larger significance has not been explored.⁸² This poem shows that the discourse surrounding the *Nihon shoki* included a variety of texts that overlap or paraphrase *Nihon shoki* but are discreet texts in their own right, and further, that some of these texts were received as valid supplemental material. Recall that the *Kōnin shiki* discussed earlier in the chapter mentions a number of texts, some of which were recognized as veritable and others of which were banned. In the same vein, Kinmochi's lecture notes do not restrict discussion to *Nihon shoki* itself, but also cite several other early texts such as a no-longer extant *Kana nihongi* (仮名日本紀, ??).⁸³ The poem above demonstrates the scope of these outside inclusions, in that at a banquet connected to *Nihon shoki* alone, and after this text had been read, a completely different text was used for poetic composition. Perhaps by Morotada's

⁸¹ See *Shōtoku taishi denryaku*, in *Shōtoku taishi zenshū* 2, ed. Fujiwara Naoyuki (Rinsen shoten, 1988), 72-73.

⁸² Nishimiya, 325.

⁸³ There are several texts with this name.

interpretation, even if the episode with the peach and the pine were not in *Nihon shoki*, it satisfied some base requirement as an acceptable historical record.

The types of texts used as supplements can be roughly divided into the following categories. First, the two texts *Kojiki* and *Sendai kuji hongî* were taken as source material for the *Nihon shoki* and believed to predate it, an understanding reflected in Kinmochi's lecture notes. Other texts used by Kinmochi for deciding the *kun* readings of *Nihon shoki*, such as *Kana nihongi*, are not given as source material, but were understood as being useful for rendering *Nihon shoki*'s prose into the vernacular. Later histories that overlap with *Nihon shoki* content such as the *Denryaku*, used in the poem above, and *Kogo shûi* (古語拾遺, 807) were composed with *Nihon shoki* in mind and deliberately coopt the *Nihon shoki* to achieve their own aims; *Sendai kuji hongî* more properly falls into this category, though in the Heian period it was imagined to predate the *Nihon shoki*. Finally, there is a non-extant body of texts that summarized *Nihon shoki*'s imperial genealogy and were used in place of *Nihon shoki* when composing other materials, what Kōnoshi Takamitsu calls the “text group (テキスト群).” Kōnoshi has shown the existence of these materials in the *Kakumei kanmon* (革命勘文, 901), which appears to have used a digest or summary version of *Nihon shoki* rather than the text itself.⁸⁴ Fukuda Takeshi has identified the similar usage of a digest version of *Nihon shoki* in the 943 preface to the conclusion banquet following the 936 lecture. This preface, by Tachibana no Naomoto (橘直韓), reads:

Nihongi concluding banquet, Tengyō 6

At the *Nihongi* concluding banquet, the history was divided between each of us and I got a verse [to write] about Ōjin (combined with the preface).

⁸⁴ Kōnoshi, *Hensō*, 12-16.

Senior secretary of the Ministry for Central Affairs and Provisional Assistant Governor of Ōmi Tachibana no Naomoto, junior fifth rank lower.

The sovereign who rules a country and a household first sets up an office to record words and deeds, hence they can know the patterns of myriad ages and observe the orders of the hundred kings. Therefore, in the reign of Empress Genshō, the empress issued an order to first-class imperial prince Toneri and Ō no Yasumaro, junior fourth rank lower, to compile the *Nihon shoki*. The beginning of the text sees the occurrence of the primordial mixture, and the later text distinguishes the humans and gods. It begins in the year *kanoto tori* (660 BCE) and ends in the year *mizunoe tora* (702) [emphasis added]. All together it is 30 volumes bound into one text. When the heavenly descendant pushed away and cleared a road through the layers of cloud, the divines made way and he descended to the peak of Chiho in Himuka. Then Kamuyamato [Jinmu] faced a curved harbor and met a fisherman, then a crow led him into the central country and showed the way. From this to Jitō's abdication are transmitted the foundations [of the emperors in-between], **and onward it spills into recording days from the beginning of Monmu's reign** [emphasis added]. Accordingly, for 42 imperial reigns [emphasis added], the rises and falls are recorded in detail, and of the records of governance and chaos for over 1000 years of time, the important points are recorded and nothing is left out. Truly this is a glorious work and a warning to rulers. Accordingly, in the courts of Kōnin and Jōwa and the ages of Gangyō and Engi, lectures were repeatedly held and question-and-answer sessions frequently occurred. The imperial line was one, and there were no disruptions in the realm. The border of Fusō (the eastern frontier) submitted to the emperor's benevolence, and the village of Sairyū (the western frontier) adored civilization. It was sweeter-smelling than the Zhou⁸⁵ and more eminent than Shun.⁸⁶ The vicissitudes of the world reached a time of rest, and so there was a motion to read the state's classic text. For this reason, in the sixth year of Jōhei (936), the assistant governor of Awa province [Kinmochi] was made to lecture on it. The lecturer had passed the imperial examination and was an outstanding disciple of the Bureau of History. He compiled [explanations] from the hundred schools and inquired into their breadth to the point that even things that fly away from the cloudy dreams of the grove of Deng did not escape.⁸⁷ Many schools' explanations were included and he lectured on their depths, like entering into a wave from the three rivers and five lakes.⁸⁸ Within he spread the affectionate training and led students along, without he received the deep instruction of those teachers who had preceded him. In accordance with the imperial order, he began the lecture. It was like when a discerning individual hangs a mirror and the light shines clearly into the heavens. It was like the echo one anticipates when ringing a beautiful bell that passes through the clouds and fog. At the end of the winter season of Tennyō 2 (939), the wind and dust of

⁸⁵ The Zhou dynasty (1046-256 BCE).

⁸⁶ A legendary Chinese emperor (r. 2233-2184 BCE).

⁸⁷ The grove of Deng (鄧林) grew from the discarded walking stick of Kua Fu (夸父), who died of thirst while pursuing the sun. Here it is used as a metaphor for Kinmochi's thoroughness.

⁸⁸ A Chinese reference for all the rivers and lakes of the world.

the border areas in the east and west were not settled. Weapons were arrayed majestically and the voice of the lecture quieted. The two villains [Taira no Masakado (903-940) and Fujiwara no Sumitomo (??-941)] were quickly dispatched and the four seas purified. The realm was at peace and the ritual music was performed again. Lectures on it continued and the ceremony was as it had been previously. During that period, the assistant governor [Kinmochi] was charged with the provinces of Bishū (Minō) and Kishū (Kii). In the ninth month of the sixth year of Tenryō, the teaching began, and on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month it finished. Small though it was, in accordance with the customs of the past, a completion banquet was held. At that time, the royals, public officials, and scholars touched the wing of a heron⁸⁹ and [those clad in] crimson and purple⁹⁰ gathered together. As if it were spring visiting the cave of Mao,⁹¹ or like the evening banquet at Mt. Penglai,⁹² the *koto* sang and the drums shook, the song of the “Special Crane Crying Crow”⁹³ was at an end. The bird-wing wine cups flew frequently,⁹⁴ and even Zhongshan was no rival in their flow.⁹⁵ The old history was divided and each of us composed a new poem, fanned the ancient customs of times past, and sought out the deeds carried on from previous courts. My poem was:

<i>watatsumi no</i>	Crossing over
<i>chihe no shiranami</i>	the thousand-layered white waves
<i>koete koso</i>	of the sea,
<i>yashimakuni ni</i>	writing was transmitted
<i>fumi wa tsutafure</i>	to the eight-island country. ⁹⁶

日本紀竟宴各分得王仁一首并序

原夫有国有家之后。先設記言記事之官。所以知万代之規謨。察百王之号令者也。是用元正天皇御宇之時。敕一品舍人親王。從四位下太朝臣安麻侶等。俾撰日本書

⁸⁹ A metaphor for court ceremony proceeding smoothly. See *Book of Sui* volume 14; the idea is probably taken from the birds appearing to fly away in orderly formation.

⁹⁰ Aristocrats. See Bai Juyi (白居易, 772–846)’s poem *Ouyin* (偶吟).

⁹¹ Possibly the cave of Maoxiandong (茅仙洞), a holy location in the Taoist tradition. The sage Mao Ying (茅盈) and his two brothers trained in the cave.

⁹² A legendary mountain where the immortals dwell in Chinese mythology.

⁹³ This appears to be a garbled quotation from the note to Bai Juyi’s poem *Wuzenghe* (烏贈鶴). Bai uses the cry of these birds to evoke sadness, but Naomoto uses them to allude to the clamor of the party.

⁹⁴ Perhaps a reference to the bird-wing cups seen in Zuo Si (左思, 250-305)’s poem *Shu Capital Rhapsody* (蜀都賦).

⁹⁵ When Liu Yuanshi (劉元石) arrived at Zhongshan (中山), he drank for 1000 days, then went home so drunk he was buried by his household who mistook him for dead. He woke after 1000 days. Zuo Si alludes to the episode in his poem *Wei Capital Rhapsody* (魏都賦).

⁹⁶ Nishizaki, 97-101. Punctuation to original added by author.

紀。上起混沌。下別人神。始於辛酉之元。終於壬寅之歲。惣三十卷勒為一家。自彼天孫排雲衢八重之路。仙蹕降日向千穗之峰。神倭臨曲浦而逢漁人。烏鳥指中洲而為鄉導。洎干持統禪讓之際。伝以洪基。文武謳歌之初。受其曆數。乃是四十二帝之興衰者纖微必錄。一千余年之治乱者旨要無遺。寔著述之菁華。為皇王之炯戒。由斯弘仁承和之朝。元慶延喜之世。重開講席累叩疑關。聖上纂統。天下無為。扶桑之域歸仁。細柳之鄉慕化。超周郁々。邁舜巍巍。運屬時休思講国典。故承平六年之冬令阿洲別駕田大夫説之。大夫桂苑甲科。蘭台高弟。網羅百氏。尋其広則。雲夢鄧林之飛走不逃。苞括群流。論其深則三江五湖之波濤盡盡。内染提撕之慈訓。外受敦誨於先師。即応糸綸。始披講授。藻鏡懸鑒。光澄宇宙之間。華鐘待撞。饗徹雲霞之表。天慶二年季冬之末。東西辺洲風塵不静。干戈之備嚴肅。講誦之音寂寥。俄而盪滅二兇。澄清四海。寰区寧謐。礼樂復興。尋以講之。其礼如故。中間別駕累遷美州紀川。六年九月伝授始畢。至其十二月二十四日。聊仍旧貫之儀。以行澆章之礼。于時王公大夫。碩儒博学。鵷鸞接翼。朱紫成群。宛然茅洞之春遊。髣髴蓬壺之夜宴。鳴琴緩鼓。別鶴啼鳥之曲欲終。羽爵頻飛。中山上若之流無數。請分旧史各詠新歌。扇遂古之余風。續先朝之故事。其詞曰。

和多津見野
千倍野肆羅奈身
古江天沽曾
八島乃国仁
布箕波都太不礼

The preface itself is of interest because of the many rhetorical flourishes and allusions to continental culture that distinguish it from the materials associated with earlier lectures.

Moreover, rather than claiming that the original pronunciation of *Nihon shoki* was in danger of being lost, necessitating a public lecture, Naomoto used the overarching theme of rises and falls in the course of the imperial reign. Fukuda Takeshi calls attention to the two sections underlined above.⁹⁷

First, Naomoto claims that the *Nihon shoki* begins in 660, but this is actually the beginning of Jinmu's reign, not the beginning of the Jinmu volume. The dates for events that happened in years prior to Jinmu's reign are given in *Nihon shoki*, so it is likely that Naomoto is

⁹⁷ Fukuda Takeshi, "Tengyō roku nen Nihongi kyōen waka jo no 'jin'in no toshi ni owaru' 'yonjūni tei' ni tsuite," *Jōdai bungaku* (108, 2012), 59-62.

using some kind of genealogical chart or timeline rather than *Nihon shoki* itself. Similarly, *Nihon shoki* ends in Jitō 11 (697), when the empress abdicates to her grandson Monmu. Naomoto instead claims that the *Nihon shoki* ends in 702, which, following *Shoku Nihongi*, was the year Jitō died, not the year she abdicated. This again suggests the use of an imperial genealogy. The same inconsistency is seen in the section in bold; *Nihon shoki* does not include Monmu at all. Fukuda also notes that the number of 42 emperors is off; Jitō should be counted as emperor number 40 or, if Empress Jingū is included in the count, as number 41. The most likely scenario is that Naomoto is counting Jingū and that he meant to include Monmu as the 42nd emperor. In either case, it is clear that Naomoto is not using the *Nihon shoki* as the chronological reference for the preface he is writing. Fukuda concludes that this is evidence of the same kind of summary or digest postulated by Kōnoshi to have been used in composing the *Kakumei kanmon*.

The Shōtoku poem and the variance in years and rulers seen in the Tengyō 6 preface are surprising considering that the circumstances of their creation were directly connected to a reading of *Nihon shoki* itself. They demonstrate that subtexts began to be used as stand-ins for the original and that the information they contained was recognized as valid supplementary knowledge.

***Kogo shūi* and a New Mythology**

Two texts deserve special consideration when evaluating the writings connected to the *Nihon shoki* lectures, *Kogo shūi* and *Sendai kuji hongī*. *Kogo shūi* was written in 807, five years before the first Heian *Nihon shoki* lecture, and it is the earliest extant text based on *Nihon shoki* contents. The writer of the text, Inbe no Hironari (齋部広成, ??-??), purports to have additional information that was passed down within his clan and was omitted from the *Nihon shoki* that

suggested that the Inbe clan should occupy a more prominent position in court rituals than it had been assigned. Accordingly, the text opens with a description of the transmission of this information, goes on to narrate events from the divine age until the early eighth century, then concludes with a list of eleven suggestions for changes in ranks and ritual practice based on the narrative of events given in the text. *Kogo shūi* begins as follows:

I have heard that in the ancient period, when script still did not exist, people of all ages and classes transmitted the sayings of the past via word of mouth so that they would not be forgotten. But since the age of writing began, it has not been fashionable to recite the things of the past. Competition in baseless frivolity has gained fashion, and the ancient ways are mocked. Accordingly, people have passed the ages and become increasingly new, and things have age by age been reformed. When looking back and inquiring into the truths of the past, there is no knowledge of sources. The national histories and clan records, while they carry some of those causes, there are also places where the details have become warped. If I did not speak up, it is likely that these would be lost and never transmitted. Thankfully a royal inquiry has been made, and I wish to raise my accumulated grievances.⁹⁸

蓋聞、上古之世、未_レ有_二文字_一、貴賤老少、口々相伝、前言往行、存而不_レ忘。書契以來、不_レ好_レ談_レ古。浮華競興、還嗤_二旧老_一。遂使_二人歷_レ世而弥新、事逐_レ代而變改_一。顧問_二故実_一、靡_レ識_二根源_一。国史・家牒、雖_レ載_二其由_一、一二委曲、猶有_レ所_レ遺。愚臣不_レ言、恐絶無_レ伝。幸蒙_二召問_一。欲_レ據_二蓄憤_一。

A description of heaven and earth separating follows, likening the short section of *Kogo shūi* above to a preface explaining the purpose and sources of the work. However, Hironari takes a starkly different tone, for example, to the *Kojiki* preface. In *Kojiki*, Tenmu orders the compilation of a history because of the ubiquity of narratives concerning antiquity, and that preface sets up Yasumaro in an organizational capacity as the answer to that problem. However, there is no suggestion that writing as a technology is the source of the discrepancy. In terms of the universalization of mythology, Hironari takes the position that there was a unified body of mythology for a singular past, but the introduction of writing and rhetoric corrupted these

⁹⁸ *Kogo shūi*, ed. Nishimiya Kazutami (Iwanami, [1985] 1996), 119.

materials. This parallels the emphasis on the glosses for *Nihon shoki* in the Heian lectures as the ultimate arbiter of historical truth. This formulation also allows Hironari to allude to his own source for *Kogo shūi*, an oral account of matters passed down within his clan. By doing so, Hironari can claim that his account is more original and more reliable than written records. Importantly, he does not completely disregard the national histories or records of other clans either; instead, he asserts that some details have been lost or changed. In this fashion, Hironari is able to use *Nihon shoki* as a source at the same time that he argues for adding new material to the official account of antiquity.

Hironari continues by deliberately exploiting the textual structure of *Nihon shoki* in order to position *Kogo shūi* as an equally veritable source.

One thing heard is that at the beginning of the universe, the two gods Izanaki and Izanami became husband and wife and gave birth to the great eight-island country, the mountains, rivers, grass, and trees. Next, they gave birth to the sun goddess and the moon god. Last they gave birth to Susano-o, but Susano-o was always engaged in weeping and wailing.⁹⁹

一聞、夫、開闢之初。伊弉諾・伊弉冉二神、共為夫婦、生大八州國、及山川草木。次、生日神・月神。最後、生素戔鳴神。而、素戔鳴神、常以哭泣為行。

The narrative here is taken from section five of the main text of *Nihon shoki*, in which Izanaki and Izanami together give birth to Amaterasu, Tsukuyomi, and Susano-o (sun goddess is later noted to be Amaterasu). The opening phrase of “one thing heard” (一聞) identifies this as one of numerous explanations of the beginning of the universe, and this particular phrase is given priority in that it is listed first. The reference to “one thing heard” also buttresses Hironari’s claim that there are multiple narratives in play, creating space to assert that *Kogo shūi* is an

⁹⁹ Ibid., 119-120.

equally reliable record. The section continues until Susano-o is banished to Ne no Kuni before adopting another approach.

Also, when heaven and earth first separated, a god appeared in the midst of heaven, named Amenominakanushi no kami. Next Takamimusubi no kami...¹⁰⁰

又、天地割判之初、天中所_レ生之神、名曰_二天御中主神_一。次、高皇産靈神。

This narrative is interesting in that it follows a branch of variant four of section one of *Nihon shoki*, naming Amenominakanushi, Takamimusubi, and Kamimusubi as the three gods who appeared in heaven. The same gods appear in *Kojiki*. Hironari's opening of "when heaven and earth first separated" (天地割判之初) builds on the words used in *Nihon shoki* for the same (天地初判), but takes on the grammatical pattern used in *Kojiki* (天地初発之時). Hironari not only collapses the *Nihon shoki* variants and main text together along with *Kojiki*, but is also narrating the events in reverse order. This merging of pieces further justifies his interpretation that there are various fragments each with some component of truth to them, to which he seeks to add *Kogo shūi*. Kōnoshi observes the same pattern in *Kogo shūi*'s narrative of Ninigi's descent, which is based on a combination of the first and second variant texts of section nine of *Nihon shoki*, in order to explain the providence of the sword and mirror used in the imperial accession ceremony, and again in Hironari's description of the heavenly offenses committed by Susano-o.¹⁰¹

In addition to combining existing material, Hironari makes a drastic modification to the *Nihon shoki* regarding in the rituals concerning imperial succession, particularly in the use of regalia. At present, the imperial family possesses three such regalia said to be transmitted from the age of the gods: a sword, a mirror, and a jewel, but these objects do not appear in *Nihon shoki*

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 120.

¹⁰¹ Kōnoshi, *Kojiki to Nihon shoki*, 170-173.

as the guarantees of imperial authority. Moreover, as Kōnoshi points out, the use of regalia as divine symbols in *Nihon shoki* is particular to Jitō.¹⁰² At Jitō's accession, *Nihon shoki* writes:

Fourth year, spring, first month. On the first day, Mononobe no Maro erected a giant shield. Head priest Nakatomi no Ōshima read the prayer of the heavenly gods. When he finished, Inbe no Shikobuchi presented the divine symbols, sword and mirror, to the Empress. Then the Empress officially acceded to the throne. The upper ministers and other public servants lined up in a circle, bowed, and clapped their hands.¹⁰³

四年春正月戊寅朔、物部麻呂朝臣樹_二大盾_一。神祇伯中臣大島朝臣誦_二天神壽詞_一。畢忌部宿禰色夫知奉_二上神璽劍鏡於皇后_一。皇后即天皇位。公卿百寮、羅列匝拜、而拍_レ手焉。

Here, three families are charged with ritual roles, the Mononobe, Nakatomi, and Hironari's Inbe.

The “divine symbols” (神璽) of Jitō's authority appear here in *Nihon shoki* for the first time.

Naturally, there are other accession ceremonies described in *Nihon shoki* and these also incorporated a ritual handing over of some object(s) that guaranteed imperial authority. For example, *Nihon shoki* describes the accession of Suiko (592) as follows:

When Suiko was 39, in the fifth year, eleventh month of Emperor Hatsusebe (Sujun), the Emperor was seen killed by the Senior Minister Soga no Umako. The succession position was open. Then the myriad ministers asked the wife of Emperor Nunakakura futotamashiki (Bidatsu), Imperial Princess Nukatabe (Suiko), to step into the throne. The Empress refused and would not put herself out for the job. The public officials again submitted her as their recommendation, and on the third time she followed it. Therefore she was given the Emperor's seal.¹⁰⁴

卅九歲、当_二于泊瀨部天皇五年十一月_一、天皇為_二大臣蘇我馬子宿禰_一見_レ殺。嗣位既空。群臣請_二淳中倉太珠敷天皇之皇后額田部皇女_一、以将_二令踐祚_一。皇后辞讓之。百寮上_レ表勸進。至_二于三_一乃從之。因以奉_二天皇之璽印_一。

In this description, Suiko received the “seal of the emperor” (天皇之璽印), but it is not described as “divine.” Moreover, Suiko's investiture comes at the hands of the myriad ministers

¹⁰² Ibid., 166-167.

¹⁰³ *Nihon shoki* 5, ed. Sakamoto Tarō, Ienaga Saburō, Inoue Mitsusada, Ōno Susumu, Iwanami shoten (1999 [1995]), 258.

¹⁰⁴ *Nihon shoki* 4, ed. Sakamoto Tarō, Ienaga Saburō, Inoue Mitsusada, Ōno Susumu, Iwanami shoten (1995), 82.

(public officials) who selected her for the position; her guarantee comes not from the gods, but from the bureaucracy. A similar situation is seen in the mythical accession of Ingyō (412).

Fifth year, spring, first month. Emperor Mitsuawake died. Then the myriad ministers took counsel and said, “Now, the children of Emperor Ōsazaki (Nintoku), Imperial Prince Oasazumawakugo and Imperial Prince Ōkusaka are here. However Imperial Prince Oasazumawakugo is the elder and is virtuous and filial.” Then they chose a lucky day, pronounced him Emperor and presented the imperial seal.¹⁰⁵

五年春正月。瑞齒別天皇崩。爰群臣議之曰、方今、大鷦鷯天皇之子、雄朝津間稚子宿禰皇子、與大香草皇子。然雄朝津間稚子宿禰皇子、長之仁孝。即選吉日、跪上天皇之璽。

Here imperial seal is given as 天皇之璽, and again, it is presented by the myriad ministers.

Ingyō declines the position only to take it up eleven months later, when he accepts the seal, here written as 天皇之璽符. Seinei, Kenzō, Jomei, and Kōtoku experience similar accession rituals.

Keitai initially receives a sword, mirror, and seal, though when he finally gives in and actually accedes, only the seal is mentioned. In present scholarship, there is a tendency to collapse the objects associated with the pre-Jitō accession theories as iterations of the same thing or things and use that as a base to understand imperial succession in the ancient period.¹⁰⁶ However, this is not the story *Nihon shoki* tells; only Jitō receives a “divine” seal, and in contrast to previous emperors whose investiture came from bureaucrats, Jitō’s authority was based in the divine. Her accession ceremony was fundamentally different from those that preceded it.

Hironari’s strategy in *Kogo shūi* was to tie the record of the Jitō accession, which included a prominent role for his clan, to mythical events and enshrine it as a ceremony that dated back to the ancient period. The first component of this was to narrate the lure of Amaterasu out of the heavenly rock cave, which allowed him to highlight the roles of Futodama,

¹⁰⁵ *Nihon shoki* 2, ed. Sakamoto Tarō, Ienaga Saburō, Inoue Mitsusada, Ōno Susumu, Iwanami shoten (1994), 304.

¹⁰⁶ For example, see Yoshimura Takehiko, *Nihon kodai no shakai to kokka* (Iwanami, 1996), 118-119.

Amenokoyane, and Amenosuzume. These gods were the founders of the Nakatomi, Inbe, and Sarume clans, and accordingly Hironari notes as the third of his demands that

In the ceremony to lure Amaterasu from the heavenly rock cave, the Inbe and Nakatomi prayed to the heavenly goddess, and the ancestor of the Sarume dispelled the goddess' anger. Accordingly, the roles of these three should not be abandoned, but now only the Nakatomi are appointed as the head priest at the Ise shrine, and the other two clans are not entrusted with this.¹⁰⁷

始、自、天上、中臣・斎部二氏、相副奉、禱、日神。猿女之祖、亦解、神怒。然則、三氏之職、不、可、相離。而、今伊勢宮司、独任、中臣氏、不、預、二氏。所、遺三也。

The sword and mirror were used in constructing a holy site in Jinmu's court, which echoes the roles of the clans in the Jitō ceremony. By Hironari's account, Nigihayahi and members of the Mononobe prepared swords and shields, and Amenotomi and members of the Inbe presented the sacred mirror and sword. A ritual of purification followed, led by Amenokoyane's grandson, which Hironari likens to the ōharai ritual performed by the Nakatomi.

Hironari also incorporated a section of the Sujin record in *Nihon shoki* in which it was no longer safe for the emperor to dwell under the same roof as the objects used for Amaterasu and Yamato Ōkunitama, and that these gods were relocated to Yamato province. Hironari's version of this is quite different.

In the reign of emperor Sujin, the awesomeness of the gods was more and more unsettling, and it was not safe for the emperor to dwell under the same roof. Therefore the emperor ordered the Inbe to lead the descendants of the gods Ishikoridome and Amenomahitotsu in forging a new mirror and making a new sword. These became the symbols of imperial protection, and are the divine seal-mirror and sword used at the accession ceremony.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ *Kogo shūi*, 48.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

至_レ於磯城瑞垣朝_レ、漸畏_レ神威_レ、同_レ殿不_レ安。故、更令_下齋部氏率_レ石凝姥神
裔・天目一箇神裔二氏_レ、更鑄_レ鏡造_上劍、以為_レ護身御璽_レ。是、今踐祚之日、
所_レ獻神璽鏡・劍也。

This not only cemented the role of the Inbe in imperial accession, but also ensured that the mirror and sword would be linked specifically to the Inbe and, unlike in *Nihon shoki*, part of a mythology surrounding the imperial accession that pre-dated Jitō. That the sword is not mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* record from Sujin is not a problem, as Yamato Takeru picked the original sword up in Ise in the Keikō volume of *Nihon shoki* and then left it at Atsuta. Accordingly, Hironari's first demand is that the Atsuta shrine receive imperial patronage.

Put shortly, Hironari's strategy revolved around stitching together variants of *Nihon shoki* coupled with additions of his own; in this sense the variants not only enable Hironari in terms of providing content but also create the space for alternative explanations to be recognized as orthodox, an assumption that undergirds Hironari's entire enterprise. Hironari also exploited the other major uncertainty surrounding the *Nihon shoki*: how to read the text. The first part of this is the appeal to verbal transmission in the opening, but the main text incorporates this aspect more concretely with twenty-two notes giving the reading of words in the main text in Japanese. The same types of notes populate the *Nihon shoki*, helping *Kogo shūi* to appear to be the same kind of record that Hironari claimed both were: written records based on oral traditions. In *Nihon shoki*, the bulk of these notes work either to nativize and establish readings of sinographs or, more frequently, to connect the text to the present by explaining the origin of a popular phrase or place name. Conversely, *Kogo shūi* makes an appeal to the past, and rather than the “this is read” (是云) style of the *Nihon shoki*, uses “the old words are” (古語).

Speaking generally, perhaps the most important things about *Kogo shūi*, at least to Hironari, were that it was accepted by Emperor Heizei and that he was promoted to the fifth rank.

Kogo shūi is not cited in the fourth manuscript of *Nihon shoki shiki* as a source for explicating *Nihon shoki*. However, it did provide a viable model for advancement, by linking a clan's origins to information in *Nihon shoki*, a trend widely seen in the *Shōjiroku*. Further, it reflects that in the early Heian, the mythologies of *Nihon shoki* were treated as various versions of singular events, giving some malleability to the facts of history. In this sense, it bears some similarity to the *Sendai kuji hongī*, though that text makes a much more ambitious claim regarding its origins.

***Sendai Kuji hongī* and Faking Source Material in the Heian**

Sendai kuji hongī was first introduced to the court at the 936 reading, appearing in the lecture note cited earlier in the chapter. The majority of scholarship on this text is obsessed, almost single-mindedly, with its authenticity. While Kinmochi believed the text to be authentic, in the Edo period, beginning with Tada Yoshitoshi's (多田義俊, 1689-1750) *Kujiki gisho shō kō* (旧事紀偽書証考), *Sendai kuji hongī* was identified as being simply a patchwork of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* with little original material of its own. Since then, the question has been whether there is any material in the text that predates the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* at all, or whether it is a forgery in its entirety. In English-language scholarship, G.W. Robinson first argued that the text is made up of four divisions, and that while the earlier volumes are taken from *Nihon shoki*, *Kojiki*, and *Kogo shūi* (古語拾遺, 807), the later sections were composed earlier, in the late seventh and early eighth centuries.¹⁰⁹ More recently, John R. Bentley has suggested that the book is authentic, drawing on unfinished drafts of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.¹¹⁰ However, as Mark

¹⁰⁹ G.W. Robinson, "The *Kuji hongī*: Volumes 7, 8, and 9 Considered as a Draft of the *Nihon shoki*, *The Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō bunko* (14: 1955), 83-85.

¹¹⁰ See John R. Bentley, *The Authenticity of Sendai Kuji Hongi A New Examination of Texts, with a Translation and Commentary* (Brill, 2006).

Teeuwen notes, “because both the authors-editors and the copyists of *Sendai kuji hongî* have skillfully hidden their interventions,” the question of *Sendai kuji hongî*’s authenticity is most likely unsolvable, and our attention is better directed towards the reception of this text rather than the circumstances of its compilation.¹¹¹ Discussion here will focus on how *Sendai kuji hongî* was understood within the discursive space of the Heian lectures. There is no doubt that the *Sendai kuji hongî* was an important component of Heian reception, certainly by 936, as it appears prominently in the lecture notes. Kōnoshi Takamitsu suggests that this dating could be pushed back to 904, based on citations that appear in the commentary *Shaku Nihongi*.¹¹²

In considering Heian readers, the most pressing question is not the authenticity of the text itself, but rather why Kinmochi would be moved in 936 to gainsay his instructor and introduce it, and further, what would convince the court that *Sendai kuji hongî* could predate *Nihon shoki*. *Sendai kuji hongî* often pulls entire phrases from *Nihon shoki* with only slight changes, but as Mark Teeuwen notes, “a later author-editor presumably would have found it necessary to make such minor changes if he wanted the text to look like an original, rather than a pastiche of citations.”¹¹³ Taken in isolation the minor changes lead to an unresolvable problem of chicken or egg. Further, unlike *Kojiki* and *Kogo shūi*, *Sendai kuji hongî* does not have an authentic preface that explains its origins, and unlike *Nihon shoki* and *Kogo shūi*, there is no mention in the official court histories of this text either. Moreover, according to *Nihon shoki*, the histories compiled by Prince Shōtoku and Soga no Umako were lost in a fire. One suggestion has been that Kinmochi

¹¹¹ Mark Teeuwen, “*Sendai Kuji Hongi*” Authentic Myths or Forged History?,” *Monumenta Nipponica* (62-1: 2007), 93.

¹¹² Kōnoshi Takamitsu, *Kojiki to Nihon shoki: Tennō shinwa no rekishi* (Kōdansha, 1999), 185. *Shaku Nihongi* contains a number of citations from the lectures that are no longer extant elsewhere.

¹¹³ Teeuwen, “*Sendai kuji hongî*,” 91.

himself authored the text, but if it existed, as Kōnoshi suggests, in 904, this is unlikely as Kinmochi would still have been only a student and quite young.

The most important and overlooked aspect of Heian reception is Kinmochi's attribution of the text to Shōtoku. Hence, *Sendai kuji hongī* would not only need to resemble *Nihon shoki*, but would have to stand up to the scrutiny of having been written by the greatest sage of ancient Japan. While the text does not claim to be authored by Shōtoku itself, it does end with Shōtoku's death, suggesting the author intended such a connection to be made. Shōtoku had achieved god-like status by the early Heian, and any materials attributed to him would be expected to be of the highest quality Literary Sinitic. Examining the lecture notes in parallel with *Sendai kuji hongī* shows that for Heian readers, this text was actually clearer than *Nihon shoki*. For example, compare the following sections from the opening of the two texts below.

Nihon shoki:

古天地未剖、陰陽不分、混沌如雞子、溟滓而含芽。及其清陽者、薄靡而為天、重濁者、淹滯而為地。¹¹⁴

Sendai kuji hongī:

古者、元氣渾沌、天地未割。猶雞卵子、溟滓含芽。其後、清氣漸登、薄靡為天。浮濁重沉、淹滯為地。¹¹⁵

The first section underlined above in both texts describes the primordial state of the universe as being like an egg. The *Nihon shoki* uses three characters, “like + chicken + child” (如雞子), whereas *Sendai kuji hongī* uses “like + chicken + egg + child” (猶雞卵子). The significance of

¹¹⁴ *Nihon shoki* 1, 423.

¹¹⁵ *Sendai kuji hongī*, ed. Shintō taikēi hensankai, vol. 8 of Shintō taikēi kotenpen (Seikōsha, 1980), 7.

this difference is reflected in an exchange from Kinmochi's lecture, recorded in the notes from

936. A participant asked,

In the sentence “the primordial chaos was like an chicken's egg,” the characters for chicken's egg are read “bird's child (雞子),” but it is not clear what kind of bird this is the child of. Thinking on it now, in the *Reiki* (礼記) it says in the *Gesturyō shōgi* (月令正義), “the primordial chaos of heaven and earth was like a chicken's egg, etc.” This is the appropriate meaning. How about reading “chicken's child” as “chicken's egg?”¹¹⁶

渾沌如_レ雞子_レ之文。読云_レ鳥兒_レ。不_レ明_レ何鳥之兒_レ。今案。礼記月令正義云。天地渾沌如_レ雞卵_レ。云云。然則此義可_レ叶。若訓_レ雞子_レ讀雞卵_レ如何。

Kinmochi replies that because the phrase is preceded by “the primordial chaos (混沌),” it is clearly referring to an egg, and furthermore, because the character for chicken is used, it is clear what kind of bird it is. However, the exchange shows that the person who asked the question had mistakenly read the passage as “bird's child.” As Tsuda Hiroyuki notes, for a Heian reader the text was ambiguous and easily misunderstood as meaning a baby chicken rather than an egg, but *Sendai kuji hongî* eliminates this ambiguity by adding the character for egg (卵).¹¹⁷ Perhaps the text is hinting that *Nihon shoki* may have dropped a character in transcription. In the following sentence, the transition word “then” (而) used in *Nihon shoki* is removed to preserve the 4-4 rhythm of the sentence, following Literary Sinitic conventions for prose composition. *Sendai kuji hongî* further clarifies the chronological order of creation by changing “and that” (及其) to “after that” (其後) to begin the following phrase.

Another section of the 936 lecture notes illustrates the same principle, addressing the second underlined section above. A question is asked about the use of the character 靡 (to break into pieces) being used in *Nihon shoki* instead of 歷 (to be kicked up); the latter appears in the

¹¹⁶ *Nihon shoki shiki*, 193-194.

¹¹⁷ Tsuda, *Seisei suru*, 14.

Huai nan zi (淮南子, second century B.C.E.) which was plagiarized in the *Nihon shoki* opening. Kinmochi does not provide a definite answer, but he does note that the word is read “tanahikite” (modern Jp. *tanabiku*) meaning “to linger” or “to hover over.” Claiming that this reading in Japanese preserves the meaning in Gao You’s (高誘) commentary on the *Huai nan zi*, Kinmochi replies that the usage in *Nihon shoki* is therefore not problematic. However, the question shows that the image of floating or hovering was not totally transparent in the text of the *Nihon shoki*. *Sendai kuji hongii* uses the same problematic character “to break into pieces” like *Nihon shoki*, but replaces yang (陽) with spirit (氣), adds the characters “progressively rose” (漸登) to make clear the meaning of floating in the problematic character 靡, and removes the characters 者 (the one who is) and 而 (and then) to make the entire passage a more straightforward grammatical construction.

In the third section underlined above, the grammatical patterns describing the formation of heaven parallel those describing the formation of earth in both texts, but again, the *Sendai kuji hongii* moves to clarify the *Nihon shoki*’s meaning. As before, the *Sendai kuji hongii* has simplified the grammar. Here it also clarifies the subject of the first phrase. *Nihon shoki* gives “the one that was heavily turbid” (重濁者) whereas *Sendai kuji hongii* gives “the floating turbidity heavily sank” (浮濁重沉). In principle, the image here is of the separated yin and yang elements floating in empty space, and a questioner at the 936 lecture pointed out that heavy objects do not float at all, so it would make more sense if the Japanese reading simply said that the turbidity came to rest. *Sendai kuji hongii* clarifies this by modifying “turbidity” with “浮” (float) and moving “heavily” (重) to modify the verb “sink” (沉), thus avoiding this problem. When Kinmochi fielded the question on the character 重 (heavy) in this section, he read it as an

adverb “omoku ni;” this parallels its usage in *Sendai kuji hongî* and again reflects the difficulty of *Nihon shoki* for Heian readers.¹¹⁸

The alterations in *Sendai kuji hongî* suggest why Kinmochi imagined that it was composed by Shōtoku himself; from Kinmochi’s perspective, the *Nihon shoki* had numerous passages that were unclear or where the native Japanese *kun* reading of the characters was required for clarification. Not only did *Sendai kuji hongî* resemble the wording of *Nihon shoki*, but it made the *Nihon shoki* seem clumsy on points where the two texts paralleled each other. In that sense, mistaking the *Sendai kuji hongî* for the original and the *Nihon shoki* as a later adaptation is certainly not unreasonable, all the more so because *Sendai kuji hongî* purported to be written by the greatest sage of early Japan. Robinson, in defending the authenticity of the *Sendai kuji hongî*, says that differences between it and *Nihon shoki* “would have to be accepted as deliberate alterations, a plausible reason for which is scarcely possible to conjecture,” but the reason for the differences was in order to pass the *Sendai kuji hongî* off as Shōtoku’s work.¹¹⁹ Much of the confusion here arises because Robinson follows the mainstream assessment of the *Sendai kuji hongî* as being inferior to the *Nihon shoki* in terms of prose composition, but this is not necessarily the case. As the lecture notes show, for a Heian reader, the *Sendai kuji hongî* would have been more transparent than the *Nihon shoki*. Moreover, the presence of the variant texts in *Nihon shoki* itself suggested that the text was composed with multiple written accounts at hand, and *Sendai kuji hongî* took advantage of this by purporting to fill the vacancy of a primary source.

¹¹⁸ *Nihon shoki shiki*, 195-196.

¹¹⁹ Robinson, 112.

In addition to the clarity of *Sendai kuji hongei* suggesting an earlier composition by Shōtoku, Tsuda Hiroyuki proposes that the text has an overarching perspective that lends itself toward being imagined as a progenitor.¹²⁰ That is to say, the *Sendai kuji hongei* is not simply a patchwork of *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Kogo shūi*, but is actively trying to amalgamate these disparate mythologies in a single work. To that end, the half-size notes used in *Nihon shoki* to indicate a variant text are given in full-size, so that all narratives are given equal authority. *Sendai kuji hongei* avoids giving alternative names for deities like other early texts, suggesting that it is an original from which these texts stem. It is critical to recognize that this perspective stems from the textual structure of *Nihon shoki* itself, which, through the inclusion of variant texts, allows for multiple narratives of the same event, and through the reading notes giving pronunciation of Literary Sinitic in Japanese, suggesting that an oral component could contribute additional meaning to the sinographs on the page. Hence, *Sendai kuji hongei* is not a freewheeling reinterpretation, but rather its potentiality to position itself within the discourse surrounding *Nihon shoki* at the Heian court lectures is tightly linked to the textual structure of the original.

The discussion of the *Nihon shoki* lecture notes at the beginning of the chapter showed that the vernacular aspect of the text and its inclusion of variants were, from the earliest recorded reception of the text, sites of contestation, and they continued to serve as such in the other types of materials raised here. The banquet poetry serves as an example of *Nihon shoki* reception outside of scholarly exegesis, and shows that even in a setting immediately following a reading of the text, that Heian scholars and aristocrats took liberty in reinterpreting mythological content in order to connect the age of the gods with their own lived present. These connections used an idea of continuity in the imperial line, of harmony in the events depicted in the text with the

¹²⁰ Tsuda, *Seisei suru*, 21.

founding of the state, and of the persistent blessings of the gods to bridge past and present. Further, they also reveal, both in poetry and in the prose preface for the 943 banquet, that texts other than *Nihon shoki* were used as stand-ins. It has been observed that the canonization process frequently assumes a cosmic comprehensiveness of a text or author, be it the Bible or Marx,¹²¹ but unlike these two, the *Nihon shoki* accomplishes this comprehensiveness by proposing alternative accounts of events or ways to read the text itself, creating a far more open-ended world. It is within this space that subtexts such as *Kogo shūi* and *Sendai kuji hongī* are able to operate, the former by positioning itself as an unheard part of the story, the latter as its progenitor. This discursive space of the lectures and banquets would not continue past the tenth century, and the last lecture in 965 seems to have been terminated before its conclusion, but the knowledge and texts it spawned continued to be relevant to cosmological debate. *Sendai kuji hongī* and *Kogo shūi* were integral to the various forms of Shinto that sprung up in the medieval period, and the conclusion banquet poetry served as a jumping-off point for incorporating *Nihon shoki* into the deluge of treatises on the theory of poetry beginning in the twelfth century. The chapter that follows begins with an analysis of the afterlife of this discourse, beginning with *Nihon shoki* and its connection to *The Tale of Genji*.

¹²¹ See John B. Henderson, *Scripture, Canon, Commentary: a Comparison of Confucian and Western Exegesis* (Princeton University Press, 1991), 89.

Chapter 2 - The *Medieval Chronicles* and *Nihon shoki* Syncretism

Beginning in the late Heian, a wide variety of variants, retellings, and adaptations attested to the *Nihon shoki* but that often diverged markedly from the original began to surface in nearly every genre of Japanese literature; these works are collectively known as the medieval chronicles (*chūsei nihongi*). Saitō Hideki notes the following example from the late thirteenth century *Kokin wakashū jo kikigaki sanryūshō* (古今和歌集序聞書三流抄), a commentary on the *kana* preface of the *Kokin wakashū*.¹

It says in the *Nihongi*: during the reign of Emperor Tenmu, there was a person called old man bamboo cutter in the province of Suruga. He grew bamboo and sold it. Once, when he looked inside some bamboo, there were several warbler cocoons. Among them was a golden child. Thinking it strange, he took it home and left it. After seven days, when he came home he saw his house shining. Going to look, there was a beautiful girl. She radiated light. “Who are you,” he asked, and she said, “I am the cocoon of the warbler.” The man made her his daughter, and named her Kaguya hime.²

日本紀云、天武天皇ノ御時、駿河国ニ作竹翁ト云者アリ。竹ヲソダテ、売人也。有時、竹ノ中ニ行テ見レバ、鶯ノカイコアマタ有。其中ニ金色ノ子アリ。不思議ニ思テ、取テ帰テ家ニ置。行キテ七日ヲヘテ家ニカヘルニ、家光リテ見ユ。行テ見レバ美女アリ。彼女光ヲ放ツ。「何人ゾ」ト問ニ、答云、「吾ハ鶯ノカイコ也」ト云。翁、吾娘トス。赫奕姫ト名ク。

The citation is a paraphrase of the well-known *Taketori monogatari* (竹取物語, 10th c.), which is not part of *Nihon shoki* at all. By Saitō’s reading, this is an example of a medieval episteme in which *Nihon shoki* served as a symbol for antiquity. I would add that while in the early Heian *Nihon shoki* was itself a topic of study and contention, as discussed in the previous chapter, in the example above, it has transformed into an

¹ Saitō Hideki, *Yomikaerareta Nihon shinwa* (Kōdansha, 2006), 83-84.

² *Kokin wakashū jo kikigaki sanryūshō*, in Katagiri Yōichi, ed., *Chūsei kokinshū chūshakusho kaidai 2* (Akao shōbundō, 1973), 260.

authoritative reference primarily valuable as a citation. The fact that this particular episode is not actually in *Nihon shoki* does not diminish its authority; conversely the commentary it appears in uses it to assert a more legitimate explanation for the association between the smoke of Mt. Fuji and love, the issue that the episode is invoked to explain. *Kokin wakashū jo kiki gaki sanryūshō* is replete with similar examples; these episodic deviations claiming to be from *Nihon shoki* are precisely this phenomenon known as the medieval chronicles.

In early postwar scholarship on the *Nihon shoki*, the medieval chronicles were largely ignored because they are not particularly helpful for understanding the content of the text itself. For example, the 1967 Iwanami version of the *Nihon shoki* claims that the medieval chronicles are “based on empty logic and argumentation and without value for academic study of the *Nihon shoki*.”³ However, more recent studies have focused on textual reception rather than production and, like Saitō, attempt to delineate an identifiable episteme characteristic of the medieval period. The most important of these, beginning in late Heian poetic treatises, is the use of *Nihon shoki* as authoritative source for *waka* explication. As the political situation became increasingly contested between regents, retired emperors, shoguns, and contemporaneous emperors, the usage in *waka* commentary dovetailed with *Nihon shoki* becoming a source for advocating one or another model of kingship. Commentators also began to synthesize *Nihon shoki*’s mythology with Buddhist, Confucian, and Daoist cosmologies, with the most pervasive explanation advocating a union of each. This again demonstrates an appeal to textual authority, with the caveat that in the medieval period, *Nihon shoki* was not treated as an

³ *Nihon shoki* 5, ed. Sakamoto Tarō, Ienaga Saburō, Inoue Mitsusada, Ōno Susumu (Iwanami shoten, 1999), 602.

absolute authority, but rather one of several equally valid models. This chapter traces these developments, illustrating both the changes to *Nihon shoki* in commentaries and their relationship to societal formations as well as the points in which they rely on the formal characteristics of *Nihon shoki* itself.

Nihon shoki after the Lectures

Fully appreciating the transformation in epistemes from the Heian lectures to the medieval chronicles requires pinning down exactly what happened to the discourse on *Nihon shoki* after the early Heian. The last lecture began in the eighth month of 965, but the absence of information about a conclusion banquet suggests that this reading never finished. Perhaps the reading was suspended upon the death of Emperor Murakami (r. 946-967) in 967. However, the detailed description of the reading and banquet ceremonies given in *Saikyūki* (西宮記, late 10th century, see Appendix A) suggest that its author expected the tradition to continue. *Saikyūki* is an encyclopedia of ceremonies and protocol, probably written by Minamoto no Takaakira (源高明, 914-983) after he was expelled to Dazaifu in the 979 Anna incident (安和の変) which consolidated Fujiwara power over the court. Takaakira's son Toshikata (源俊賢, 960-1027) was initially sent to Dazaifu with his father, and this text would have been instrumental in providing Toshikata with valuable information on how court ceremonies should be commenced, including how to do a *Nihon shoki* reading and conclusion banquet. However, this future reading never happened. Given that the lectures were held at approximately thirty-year intervals, another reading would have hypothetically occurred in the late 990's, but this was a particularly tumultuous time for the Heian court with Fujiwara no Michitaka (藤原

道隆, 953-995) and Fujiwara no Michikane (藤原道兼, 961-995) dying of disease in 995, Fujiwara no Korechika's (藤原伊周, 974-1010) 996 expulsion to Dazaifu, and Korechika's ongoing struggle for power with his uncle Fujiwara no Michinaga (藤原道長, 966-1028), who was promoted to Minister of the Left in 996. Put shortly, at the height of the imperial regency and Fujiwara supremacy, *Nihon shoki* lectures fell by the wayside.

Despite loss of the official recognition and prominence granted by the readings and conclusion banquets, references to the text and the accumulation of knowledge surrounding it, such as the private records (*shiki*, 私記) discussed in the previous chapter, continued to exist in the mid-Heian. A famous example appears in the Hotaru chapter of *The Tale of Genji* during a playful exchange between Genji and Tamakazura. Tamakazura had holed herself up during the summer rains reading *monogatari*, comparing her own plight to that of the protagonists she read about despite “not knowing if they were true or false.”⁴ Genji intrudes on her reading and copying, asserting that women must enjoy being deceived by such tales even though they know they are untrue, then immediately walks back his claim.

“These days when I overhear the ladies reading to my daughter, I think that there really are fantastic tellers of tales in this world, and that these tales likely come from mouths accustomed to speaking falsehoods. However, maybe that is not the case.”

Pushing away her inkstone, Tamakazura said, “Were someone accustomed to lying, they would likely think as much. However, I take them to be true.”

He said laughing, “Perchance I have been rude in denigrating such tales. They record the things of this world since the age of the gods. The *Chronicles of Japan* and such are only one side of the story. Perhaps your tales give the truth in detail.”⁵

⁴ *Genji monogatari* 3, in Shinpen Nihon bungaku zenshū 22, ed. Abe Akio, Imai Gen'e, Akiyama Gen, Suzuki Hideo (Shōgakkan, 1996), 210.

⁵ Ibid., 211-212.

このごろ幼き人の、女房^{にようぼう}などに時々読まするを立ち聞けば、ものよく言ふ者の世にあるべきかな。そらごとをよく馴^なれたる口つきよりぞ言ひ出だすらむとおぼゆれどさしもあらじや」とのたまへば、「げにいつはり馴れたる人や、さまざまにさも酌^くみはべらむ。ただいとまことのこととこそ思^すうたまへられけれ」とて、硯^{すずり}を押しやりたまへば、「骨^{こち}なくも聞こえおとしてけるかな。神世より世にあることを記^{しる}しおきけるななり。日本紀^{にほんぎ}などはただかたそばぞかし。これらにこそ道^{みち}々しくくはしきことはあらめ」とて笑ひたまふ。

Genji would go on to defend fiction in what commentators since Motoori Norinaga have taken to be Murasaki Shikibu's theory of the monogatari. The headnote in the SNKBZ version of *Genji* identifies the “*Chronicles of Japan* and such” as a collective term for the six histories of Japan, from the *Nihon shoki* onward.⁶ However, given the discourse surrounding the *Nihon shoki* encountered in the previous chapter, including derivative texts and the notes associated with the lectures, it is not implausible that Genji is referring to this collective intellectual space as a whole. Genji explicitly raises “the age of the gods,” the section of *Nihon shoki* that underwent the most extensive interpretation and includes the most textual variants. Moreover, this is the section where notes on the lectures would be most important for decoding the text. It is particularly fitting that Genji's overall point, that the *Chronicles* do not contain the entirety of the story, is given in the context of a section of the *Nihon shoki* that gives multiple competing narratives, an admission that there is not one single authoritative account.

Several other clues hint that the *Chronicles of Japan* during the height of Fujiwara regency were more than just the texts of the six national histories. Michinaga's library

⁶ Ibid., 212.

contained some works referred to as *Nihongi Companion Writings etc.* (日本記具書等).⁷

These companion writings almost certainly refer to the kinds of texts and lectures notes discussed in the previous chapter. A work with the same title appears in some manuscripts of the *Kogo shūi*, which notes that “for writings on the heavens, there is one part of the *Tensho teiki* in ten volumes and the *Nihongi* companion writings.”⁸ Kōnoshi Takamitsu notes that while it is impossible to determine what exactly these companion writings refer to, it is clear that the *Nihon shoki* was being read along with other materials.⁹

The headnote in the Shōgakkan edition of *The Diary of Lady Murasaki* (紫式部日記) identifies “nihongi” as a catch-all term for the six national histories. The episode in which this word appears is as follows:

There is a woman called Saemon no Naishi. At a time I was not aware that she bore a peculiar resentment towards me without reason, and I heard some number of unsavory rumors spread about me. When Emperor Ichijō heard *Tale of Genji* being read to some people, she heard him say, “It seems this author has even read the *Chronicles of Japan*. She is truly genius.” Then she abruptly surmised that “She is a genius indeed,” and spread the word among the palace, giving me the title “Lady of the *Chronicles*,” something patently absurd!¹⁰

さいもん ないし
左衛門の内侍といふ人はべり。あやしうすずろによからず思ひけるも、え
知りはべらぬ、心憂きしりうごとの、おほう聞こえはべりし。内裏のうへ
の、源氏の物語人に読ませたまひつつ聞こしめしけるに、「この人は
にほんぎ
日本紀をこそ読みたるべけれ。まことに才あるべし」と、のたまはせける

⁷ Yamanaka Yutaka, ed., *Midō kanpaku ki zen chūshaku: kankō nananen* (Shibunkaku, 2005), 129 [Kankō 7 (1010) 8.29].

⁸ *Kogo shūi*, in *Shintō taikai koten hen 5*, ed. Iida Mizuho (Shintō taikai hensankai, 1986), 13.

⁹ Kōnoshi Takamitsu, “‘Nihongi’ to *Genji Monogatari*,” *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 75-11 (1998): 14.

¹⁰ *Murasaki shikibu nikki*, in *Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 26, ed. Fujioka Tadaharu, Nakano Kōichi, Inukai Kiyoshi, and Ishii Fumio (Shōgakkan, 1994), 208.

を、ふと推^おしはかりに、「いみじうなむ才がある」と、殿上人^{てんじやうびと}などにいひ散らして、日本紀の御局^{みつぼね}とぞついたりける、いとをかしくぞはべる。

Murasaki would go on to discuss how she sat alongside her brother while he learned the *Records of the Grand Historian* (史記), and that while she tried to cover up her knowledge, that she ended up teaching the empress the poetry of Bai Juyi. Putting aside Murasaki Shikibu's posturing and the palace intrigue, the question is what Ichijō meant by saying that she had read the *Nihongi*. The modern interpretation takes this title to refer to *Nihon shoki* and the other national histories.¹¹ As the conversation in *The Diary of Lady Murasaki* continues with a discussion of Murasaki Shikibu's knowledge of continental histories and Chinese poetry, the overall context of the passage supports an interpretation that Ichijō's comment referred to Murasaki Shikibu's familiarity with the continental canon. Saitō suggests that "as the child of Fujiwara Tametoki, this passage goes beyond simply explaining her education in Literary Sinitic texts. Should we not actively think that she inherited the intellectual world of the *Nihongi* discursive space of state scholars? At the very least, her reading the *Chronicles* should be understood as her having been aware of the knowledge and discourses accumulated and negotiated by the *Nihongi* lectures."¹² Even though the lectures had ended, *Nihon shoki* had an afterlife in the new genre of monogatari.

A famous passage from another Heian diary, the *Sarashina Diary* (更級日記), also suggests a continuity between the texts produced in connection with the lectures and the discourse on the *Nihon shoki* after the lectures had ended.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Saitō Hideki, "Sekkanki no Nihongi kyōju," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 64-3 (1999): 37.

Despite my feelings of whimsy, there was someone who always told me, “Speak your prayers to the deity Amaterasu.” Although I did not know where this god resided, or if it was a Buddha, etc., I gradually acquired discernment. When I asked someone,¹³ he said, “This is a god. It resides in Ise province. The *kuni no miyatsuko*¹⁴ of Kii province worships this god.¹⁵ Also it is the guardian deity in the Sacred Mirror Room in the palace.” It was beyond consideration to visit Ise. And how could I offer up worship in the Sacred Mirror Room? I thoughtlessly imagined it would be suitable instead to speak my prayers to the light in the sky.¹⁶

ものはかなき心にも、つねに、「天照御神を念じ申せ」といふ人あり。いづこにおはします神、仏にかはなど、さはいへど、やうやう思ひわかれて、人に問へば、「神におはします。伊勢におはします。紀伊の国に、紀の国造と申すは此の御神なり。さては内侍所にすくう神となむおはします」といふ。伊勢の国までは思ひかくべきにもあらざなり。内侍所にも、いかでかは参り拝みたてまつらむ。空の光を念じ申すべきにこそはなど、浮きとおぼゆ。

Fujii Sadakazu has suggested that this passage reflects the level of understanding about Amaterasu of both the writer and the person who gave her this information, and goes on to note the headnote from the Shinchō version of *Sarashina*, which distinguishes the original deity of Ise from Amaterasu and suggests that the protagonist’s worship takes on an air of folk religious practice.¹⁷ The tenor of Fujii’s reading suggests some

¹³ The “someone” is likely the protagonist’s older brother, Sugawara no Sadayoshi (1002-1065). See Kōchi Kazuaki, “‘Amateru okami wo nemushimase’ no yume,” *Gunma kenritsu kokubungaku kenkyū*, (1983): 23.

¹⁴ *Kuni no miyatsuko* (国造) were regional officials appointed by the Yamato court. Although the 645 Taika reforms replaced the office with *kokushi* (国司), *kuni no miyatsuko* continued to be assigned, particularly in areas with major shrines such as Ise and Izumo.

¹⁵ This passage actually reads, “The *kuni no miyatsuko* of Ki is this god,” however it is likely that some section has been cut out. The translation above follows the SNKBZ headnote for this passage. Sonja Arntzen, in her 2014 translation, reads it as a confusion by the protagonist between the provincial official and the god itself (see Sonja Arntzen and Itō Moriyuki, *The Sarashina Diary: A Woman’s Life in Eleventh-century Japan*, (New York : Columbia University Press, 2014), 108). However, as will be discussed below, the protagonist actually displays an acute knowledge of how Amaterasu was understood in the eleventh century.

¹⁶ *Sarashina nikki*, in Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 26, ed. Fujioka Tadaharu, Nakano Kōichi, Inukai Kiyoshi, Ishii Fumio (Shōgakkan, 1994), 321-322.

¹⁷ Fujii Sadakazu, *Genji monogatari nyūmon*, (Kōdansha, 1996), 148-149.

misunderstanding on the part of the *Sarashina*’s writer and a general decline in understanding about Amaterasu’s provenance during this period. However, contemporaneous records shows that the explanation received by the author of *Sarashina* was both known among aristocrats at the time and rooted in the discursive space of the *Nihon shoki* lectures that took place less than a century earlier.

Fujiwara no Sanesuke’s (957-1046) journal *Shōyūki* (小右記) records a fire that took place in the palace in 1005, which in turn cites a description of an earlier 960 fire from a record called *Koden gyonikki* (故殿御日記), an alternative title of Fujiwara Saneyori’s (900-970) diary *Seishinkōki* (清慎公記). Sanesuke’s account includes a note with the citation saying that the mirror has three aspects (三面): the sun god of Ise province, the *Hi no kuma* of Kii province, and the *Kuni kakasu* of Kii province.¹⁸

(藤原実頼) (清慎公記)
故 殿 御 日 記 云、恐 所 雖 在 火 灰 燼 之 中、曾 不 燒 損 云々、鏡 三 面 申 伊 勢 太 神・紀 伊 国
日 前・国 懸 云々 如 件 説 似 三 面、

The late Heian *Daijingu shozōjiki* (太神宮諸雜事記) also lists three aspects, one in Ise, one in Kii, and one being the mirror in the palace itself.¹⁹ Though the two accounts slightly differ, they both identify three locations for the sun god of Ise. In this sense, the *Sarashina* author is not misinformed at all, nor is this understanding restricted to folk practice.

The relationship between the three aspects noted by *Sarashina*’s author and the *Nihon shoki* is also hinted at in the records from the lectures themselves. In *Nihon shoki*,

¹⁸ *Shōyūki* 2, in *Dai Nihon kokiroku*, ed. Tokyo University shiryō hensanjo (Iwanami shoten, 1961), 137. “Hi no kuma” and “Kuni kakasu” are the principal gods venerated at the Hi no kuma jingū Kuni kakasu jingū in Wakayama prefecture.

¹⁹ *Daijingu shozōjiki*, in *Shintō taiei jingū hen 1*, ed. Shintō taiei hensankai (Shintō taiei hensankai, 1979), 381.

the first variant text describing Amaterasu's exit from the heavenly rock cave claims that a statue of Amaterasu was made and identifies this god with the Hinokuma god of Kii province. Then, in variant two of Ninigi's descent, Amaterasu hands Oshihomimi a sacred mirror to bring to earth claiming that he would see her when he looked at it. Finally, in the sixth year of Sujin, Amaterasu's worship locale was moved from the palace to Kasanui village in Yamato province, and then in Suinin twenty-five, Amaterasu descends from heaven herself and dwells in Ise. The use of variants in *Nihon shoki* and the type of historical comprehensiveness it envisions allows some level of ambiguity here; *Kogo shūi* tries to smooth this ambiguity out by claiming that the Hinokuma god is a defective mirror prototype, that the mirror itself is in Ise, and that a later copy of the mirror is held in the palace. Most importantly, *Shaku Nihongi* cites an account from a council secretary (外記) about the 960 fire.

A record from a council secretary states: there are three components of the inner worship hall (威所). The first is a mirror (a sacred mirror. Although there was an intense fire, it was not harmed. This is called the great god of Ise). The second is in the form of a fish (it was not damaged; its length is around six *jō* (20 meters). The third is a mirror (it already underwent damage; it is called the deity in Kii province).²⁰

外記々。曰。威所三所。一所鏡。（件御鏡。雖_レ在_二猛火上_一。而不_二涌損_一。即云_二伊勢御神_一。）一所魚形。（無_二破損_一。長六寸計。）一所鏡。（已涌乱破損。紀伊国御神云々。）

Saitō notes that despite the differences here with the image of Amaterasu given in *Shōyūki*, it is in general agreement with the account of the council secretary and, by extension, to the discourse on the *Nihon shoki* that arose during the court lectures on the

²⁰ *Shaku Nihongi*, in *Nihon shoki shiki; Shaku Nihongi; Nihon issai*, ed. Kuroita Katsumi, vol. 8 of *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965), 99.

text.²¹ One reason is that as an office, council secretaries were intimately acquainted with the Heian university, and office holders are recorded to have attended several of the lectures. Saitō also supposes that Sanesuke had collected some number of diaries, including such accounts by council secretaries. This is certainly food for thought, though there is no smoking gun connecting the particular record cited in *Shaku Nihongi* to Sanesuke. The more important point, especially in connection to *Sarashina*, is that the discourse on the *Nihongi* from the Heian lectures pervaded after the lectures ended in relation to the interpretation of Amaterasu. Put together with the discussion in *Genji*, it is clear that the legacy of the Heian lectures in the mid to late Heian period functioned as an incubator for new variants and interpretations; these would progressively distance themselves from the text of *Nihon shoki* itself in forming the medieval chronicles.

The image of Amaterasu in the mid-Heian period, as a distinct figure from that evinced in *Nihon shoki*, also appears in the *Miyuki* chapter of *Genji*. After Genji reveals the truth of Tamakazura's parentage to her father, Tō no chūjō, Tō no chūjō's other daughter Kokiden suspects that Tamakazura will be sent to court and become her competitor. In the conversation that ensues, Kashiwagi and Kōbai, Tō no chūjō's sons, playfully insult the Omi lady, a third sister hopelessly competing for attention in the palace.

“...Your willpower will certainly make snow of the hardest boulder, and eventually your wishes will come true,” Kōbai said laughing to her.
“Though it might be better for you to stay closed up in your heavenly rock-cave,” said Kashiwagi as he stood to leave.²²

²¹ Saitō Hideki, “Sekkanki no Nihongi kyōju, 40.

²² *Genji*, 321-322.

御心しづめたまうてこそ。堅き^{いはほ} 巖^{あわゆき}も沫雪になしたまうつべき御気色なれば、いとう思ひかなひたまふ時もありなむ」と、ほほ笑みて言ひめたまへり。中将も、「天の磐戸^{あま いはと}さし籠^{こも}りたまひなんや、めやすく」とて立ちぬれば、

Both the phrase “snow of the hardest boulder” and the allusion to the heavenly rock-cave refer to the showdown between Amaterasu and Susano-o in volume one of *Nihon shoki*. However, there is an important variation when the two are compared. *Nihon shoki* says that Amaterasu stamped on the “hard garden (堅庭),” sank into it up to her thighs, and kicked it about as if it were foamy snow; there is no mention of a boulder.

Genji (SNKBZ): 堅き^{かた いわほ あわゆき} 巖^{あわゆき}も沫雪になしたまうつべき
Nihon shoki: 踏堅庭而陷股。若沫雪以蹴散。

The headnotes of the SNKBZ version of *Genji* give the relevant passage from *Nihon shoki* but make no note of the differences between the two. *Genji* takes the simile of the snow in *Nihon shoki* and makes it a literal object within the turn-of-phrase it creates. Further, there is no mention of a boulder in the original; the scene itself has been reimagined. Ichijō Kaneyoshi (1402-1481) suggests in *Kachōyosei* (1472) that it was a mistake and was meant to refer to “a hard garden.”²³ Kōnoshi Takamitsu proposes two more likely scenarios: first, that the usage of “boulder” was Murasaki Shikibu’s interpretation of the scene, perhaps because the image of Amaterasu kicking a boulder into tiny pieces was easier to understand.²⁴ This would suggest that *Genji* is not only inheriting components of the Heian-period *Nihongi* discursive space but actually breaking out on its own. The second is that here *Genji* is following an interpretation of *Nihon shoki*

²³ *Kachōyosei*, in *Genji monogatari ko chūshaku sōkan* 2, ed. Nakano Kōichi (Musashino shoin, 1978), 223.

²⁴ Kōnoshi, “‘Nihongi’,” 21.

that is no longer extant. While there is no way this can be verified, it does illustrate the mid-Heian as a turning point for *Nihon shoki*, when the collected knowledge of the lectures lived on in part, but when there was also ample ground for new ideas that would, as Hikaru Genji suggests, tell the facts left out of the original text and the private records that mediated its reception.

During the period of cloistered rule from 1086 to 1192, interest in *Nihon shoki* is generally understood to have waned, as seen in the following conversation between Ōe no Masafusa (大江匡房, 1041-1111) and Fujiwara no Sanekane (藤原実兼, 1085-1112). Sanekane asks, “Have you read the *Nihongi*,” to which Masafusa replies, “I have read a bit of it, but not read it widely.” Sanekane asks again, “Who compiled the *Nihongi*,” and Masafusa replies, “The *Nihongi* was compiled by Prince Toneri.”²⁵ In another place in the same text, Masafusa replies to a question with, “the character 榊 (sakaki tree) is seen in the *Nihongi*.”²⁶

Yoshiwara Hiroto and others have argued that the following exchange shows that for the scholars at the beginning of the twelfth century, the text of the *Nihon shoki* was hard to get access to.²⁷ Bernhard Scheid echoes this sentiment, noting that perhaps both linguistic difficulties and the decline of stately ritualism contributed to an increasing lack of knowledge of the text.²⁸ Certainly their exchange shows that Sanekane had neither read the *Nihon shoki* nor did he know who compiled it, and that Masafusa had only read

²⁵ *Gōdanshō*, in Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 32, ed. Gotō Akio, Ikegami Jun’ichi, Yamane Taisuke (Iwanami shoten, 1997), 147.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 191.

²⁷ Yoshiwara Hiroto, “Inseiki no Nihongi kyōju,” *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* (1999.3): 43.

²⁸ Bernhard Scheid, “Two Modes of Secrecy in the *Nihon shoki* Transmission,” in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, ed. Mark Teeuwen and Bernhard Scheid (New York: Routledge, 2006), 287-288.

the text in part. Moreover, the character Masafusa notes from the *Nihon shoki* does not actually appear in the text itself. Masafusa does cite the *Nihon shoki* in several places in his *Gōkeshidai*, but these may be based on his possession of a *shiki*. At any rate, Masafusa was not comfortable asserting that he had in-depth knowledge of the text. Kubota Osamu reads this as illustrative of a period when other genres began to speak to historical stories, which went hand in hand with the text's loss of political authority.²⁹ However, he emphasizes that the text was not completely forgotten. Moreover, this perceived loss of interest in *Nihon shoki* lasts for a generation at most, as Sanekane's own son would write the first-ever commentary on the text.

***Nihon shoki* as *Honsetsu* in Poetic Commentaries**

References to *Nihon shoki* begin to appear with increasing frequency in several texts from the early twelfth century, most notably in poetic commentaries like the one given in the introduction to this chapter. The *Nihongi kyōen waka* discussed in the previous chapter and translated in Appendix B was also first compiled into a discrete text in this period, and while its authorship is uncertain, Nishimiya Kazutami suggests Fujiwara Akisuke (藤原顕輔, 1090-1155) based on historical analysis of the kana usage and citations of the waka in a major poetic commentary by his son, Kiyosuke (清輔, 1104-1177).³⁰ The compilation of *Nihongi kyōen waka* around this time reflects an important nexus between the *Nihon shoki* and waka at the beginning of the twelfth century where *Nihon shoki* functioned as a repository for an increased poetic vocabulary

²⁹ Kubota Osamu, "Chūsei ni okeru Nihon shoki kenkyū," *Shintō shi kenkyū* 22-4 (1974): 3.

³⁰ Nishimiya Kazutami, *Nihon jōdai no bunshō to hyōki* (Kazama shobō, 1988), 332.

and source for allusion. For the same reason, the conclusion banquet poetry appear in commentaries such as Minamoto no Toshiyori's (源俊頼, 1055-1129) *Toshiyori zuinō* (1113) and Shinzei's (信西, Fujiwara no Michinori (藤原通憲, 1106-1160) *Nihongi shō* (日本紀鈔).

These types of references are generally known as *honsetsu* (本説), *honka* (本歌), or *honbun* (本文). In the late Heian and Kamakura periods, allusion to preexisting compositions became an increasingly important metric by which the quality of a piece was evaluated, especially in competitions. Conceptually, *honsetsu* and *honka* can be pushed back to the tenth century at least, and one of the earliest examples of using *Nihon shoki* is tied to Toshiyori. At a poetry competition hosted by Fujiwara no Tadamichi (藤原忠通, 1097-1164) in 1118, Fujiwara no Mototoshi (藤原基俊, 1060-1142) produced the following poem:

かつみれど	Though I gaze,
なおこい 猶ぞ恋しき	I yearn even more
わぎもこ 吾妹子が	for my wife.
ゆつのつま櫛	Were she an eight-toothed comb,
いかでさゝまし	how could I not insert her in my hair? ³¹

In judging the poem, Toshiyori said the following:

“Eight toothed comb” is from when Susano-o first met Inadahime. It is a comb that he inserts himself. This poem uses the phrase “though I gaze,” which appears to describe a feeling that comes after having already met. Because the final phrase says “how could I not insert her,” it means that she has not yet been inserted. This differs from the original.³²

³¹ *Naidaijin ke utaawase ganei ichi jūgatsu*, in *Gunsho ruijū* 12, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi (Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1960), 87.

³² Ibid.

後のうたはゆつのつまくしとは素戔鳴尊の稲田姫に逢初給し時。御みつからにさし給し櫛也。此歌はかつみれとゞ読れたれは。すてに逢にける心なん見ゆる。末の句にいかてさゞましとあれば。またさゞぬとこそみゆれ。本文にはたかひたるやうにみゆる。

Here, the allusion is to an episode in section eight of the main version of *Nihon shoki*, in which Susano-o prepares to slay the eight-headed serpent. Before sending her parents away to brew alcohol, he turns Kushiinadahime into a “yutsu toothed comb” and sticks it into his hair bun. While the encounter is not described in particularly romantic terms – Susano-o transforms her before ever speaking a word to her – Toshiyori is correct in that this was his first meeting with Kushiinadahime. More importantly, his criticism of the poem lies in Mototoshi’s failure to properly allude to the episode from *Nihon shoki*.

Toshiyori is of particular interest because his 1113 primer, *Toshiyori zuinō*, also makes use of *Nihon shoki* to explain poetic allusions. The text was composed by Toshiyori for Tadamichi’s daughter Yasuko (藤原泰子, 1095-1156), who would go on to be empress consort to Emperor Toba (r. 1107-1123). The primer gives examples of poetic forms and vocabulary as well as numerous poems with extended commentary. The general tenor of the work is quite pessimistic, and Toshiyori deliberately invokes and then twists the kana preface of the *Kokinshū* to turn its unbridled ambition about the potential of poetry into a source of lament.³³ Toshiyori asserts that in his own era, knowledge of past poetry and its relation to composition had become thin, suggesting he believed that there was some danger of losing information or understanding of the past. He invokes several methods to remedy this, such as identifying poetic words from the *Man’yōshū* as alternative names for an animal or plant or, more importantly, using the

³³ See Ogawa Toyoo, “*Toshiyori zuinō* no kago to setsuwa: imei kara no sekkin,” *Nihon bungaku* 35-10 (1986): 56-57.

historical circumstances of a poem's composition or background information on the words within it to interpret the poem as a whole. This filler information could connect poetic practice to canonical works or *setsuwa* while also allowing Toshiyori to remake or reframe past events however he liked.³⁴ For example, he gives the following commentary for a poem by Fujiwara no Nagatō (藤原長能, 949-1009), which appears in *Shūi wakashū* (拾遺和歌集), number 134.

さばえなす	Even the gods who thrashed about
<small>あら</small> 荒ぶ <small>かみ</small> る神も	like summer flies;
おしなべて	all of them [were put to rest].
<small>け</small> 今日は <small>ふ</small> なごしの	Today is the purification ritual
はらへといふなり	for the passage of summer. ³⁵

This poem is from the *Shūishō*. “Sabae” means the wild gods, like summer flies, assembled in great numbers and tormented the people. It says that they should be driven out and appeased (nagomete), and so the last day of the sixth month is [the day they are] driven out and appeased. The origin of this is seen in the *Nihongi*. The youngest child of Amateru, when she wanted to make him ruler of the central reed plain, there were evil gods like summer flies in that country, and the grass and trees spoke. Takamimusubi assembled the myriad gods and asked them, “Who should be sent to drive away the evil gods in the central country? All said, “Amanohohi is the paragon of bravery,” and it was decided for him to be sent and pacify them, it is said.³⁶

此歌は拾遺抄の歌なり。さばへといふはあらき神のさばへの如くに多く集り人のためにたゝりをなす。これをはらへなごめてなむよはよかるべきといひて、水無月のつごもりの日はゝらへなごむるなり。それをこの事のおこり日本紀に見えたり。あまてる御神のすゑ御子を、葦原の中つ国の君とせむとする時に、その国にさばへなす悪しき神たちあり、又草木みなものいふ。高むすびのみこと八百万の神たちをつどへてとひ給はく、誰かかの

³⁴ See Ogawa Toyoo, “Inseiki no kagaku to honsetsu: Toshiyori zuinō wo kiten ni,” *Nihon bungaku* 36-2 (1987).

³⁵ *Shūi wakashū* has “harahe nari keri” for the last line; I have quoted here as the poem appears in *Toshiyori zuinō*.

³⁶ *Toshiyori zuinō*, in *Nihon waka taikai* 1, ed. Sasaki Nobutsuna (Kazama Shobō, 1983 [1958]), 169.

中つ国の悪しきものをはらへに遣すべき。皆いはく、天穗日のみことはこれ神のいさをなりと定めて遣したひらげとゝのへりといへり。

Here, everything after the citation is taken from *Nihon shoki*, from a variant that makes Amaterasu the central force behind Ninigi's descent. Toshiyori uses this as background for his explication of the poem, which he reads as making an allusion to this episode in *Nihongi*. However, his actual explanation of the poem that precedes the *Nihongi* citation does not have any direct connection to *Nihon shoki*; the gods do not torment any people, nor is the summer purification ritual invoked. He also may be imagining summer passage (*nagoshi* 夏越し) as being connected to "appeasement" (*nagomeru* 和める) via the sound of the words; this may be valid, but the ritual itself is not derived from *Nihon shoki* either. However, *Nihongi* is being explicitly linked to poetic allusion.

It should be noted that Toshiyori does not cite *Nihongi* at every opportunity. There are other poems, for example on Hiruko, where he cites a note to a conclusion banquet poem, and far more, like those by Shitateruhime, Susano-o, and mythical emperors, where incorporating *Nihongi* would be appropriate but no direct citation is given. The explication of Nagatō's poem also takes the form a paraphrase. Toshiyori was active squarely in the same time period that Masafusa and Sanekane had their exchange, and while Sanekane's query, like Toshiyori's commentary, reveals a nascent interest in *Nihon shoki*, actual citation of the text was still quite muted. Lack of direct citation also explains how Toshiyori was able to bend *Nihon shoki* to fit his interpretation; since summer purification never appears in the original, citing it would reveal his forced reading. This is probably more a result of the sort of free association between concepts and meaning that characterizes the medieval chronicles than deliberate deception on Toshiyori's part.

Another commentary produced at nearly the same time, *Kigoshō* (綺語抄, 1107-1116), by Fujiwara no Nakazane (藤原仲実, 1064-1122), is similar in this respect, with four references to *Nihongi* and one to a conclusion banquet poem, the same poem on Hiruko that appears in *Toshiyori zuinō*. *Kigoshō* itself is organized into nearly twenty categories such as weather, season, birds, and plants, each of which contains words or phrases that could be used in poetic composition. The entries are followed by example poems from *Man'yōshū*, *Kokinshū*, and others, and many of them also contain explanatory notes giving background information. For example, in the third section on “earth” (坤儀), the first entry reads:

Akitsu-shima. This is the country of Japan. The sinographs are 秋津嶋.
In the *Nihongi* it says, “After Emperor Jinmu acceded to the throne, he took a tour to inspect the country. Its shape resembled that of a dragonfly. Therefore it was called Akitsu-shima (秋津嶋). Dragonfly is read “kagerofu.” It is also called “Akitsu-shima (秋津洲). Etc.”³⁷

あきつしま 日本国也。秋津嶋
日本紀云、神武天皇御即位後、巡_レ檢此国_一。為_レ体似_レ蜻。仍云_一秋津嶋_一。
云_一蜻、カゲロフ_一ナレバナリ。亦云_一秋津州_一云々。

While the passage is given in Literary Sinitic, it is not taken from *Nihon shoki* directly, and likely suggests the use of a text that abbreviated *Nihon shoki*. The same is true of another entry about Urashima Tarō. However, the other two citations of *Nihongi* are of episodes that do not appear in *Nihon shoki* at all. The first is for the entry on *asamoyohi*, a transformation of the Man'yō pillow word *asamoyoshi* for *ki*. *Kigoshō* claims that the word means “firewood” (薪), then provides another poem that begins “asamoyohi ki no

³⁷ *Kigoshō*, in *Nihon waka taikei bekkann* 1, ed. Kyūsojin Hitaku (Kazama shobō, 1971), 45.

sekimori” attributed as the fourth poem of the *Nihongi*.³⁸ Not only is this not the fourth poem in *Nihon shoki*, but there is no poem in *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki* that uses the phrase “asamoyohi” or “asamoyoshi;” “asamoyoshi” appears six times in the *Man’yōshū* only.³⁹

The second citation of *Nihongi* is for the entry on “nomori no kagami,” used to refer to a body of water in the wild that can show an object’s reflection. There are a number of explanations for the story behind this phrase, beginning with *Toshiyori zuinō*, which attributes it to Emperor Tenji. The emperor lost a hawk while hunting only to have it discovered by a field guardian (*no mori* 野守), who saw the bird’s reflection in a standing body of water.⁴⁰ Toshiyori also notes an alternative explanation stating that the mirror belonged to Xujun (徐君) and could reflect a person’s mind, and that it was greatly desired by all, so the person who acquired it buried it beneath a hill.⁴¹ This alternative is cited to “someone” with the provision that “maybe he or she is correct” in *Toshiyori zuinō*, but in discussing the same topic a later commentary, the *Shūchūshō* (袖中抄, 1185-1190) quotes this passage from *Toshiyori zuinō* and attributes the explanation to Ōe no Masafusa.⁴² Toshiyori’s own confusion about which statement was true is reflected in the closing “maybe he or she is correct.” Another commentary, the *Ōgishō* (奥義抄, 1135-1144), similarly puzzles over the issue, giving both the hunting story (with Yūryaku instead of Tenji) and the Xujun story. It concludes that there is no reason

³⁸ *Kigoshō*, 121.

³⁹ I:55, II:199, IV: 543, VII:1209, IX:1680, and XIII:3324.

⁴⁰ *Toshiyori zuinō*, 156.

⁴¹ Xujun is from the story of Jizha in the *Shiji*.

⁴² *Shūchūshō*, in *Nihon kagaku taikei bekkann* 2, ed. Kyūsojin Hitaku (Kazama shobō), 286.

to call the mirror from the Xujun story the “*hashitaka no nomori no kagami*,” presumably because there are no hawks or fields involved in the episode.⁴³

Returning to *Kigoshō*, Nakazane gives a completely different interpretation involving a man who, being dispatched to the countryside, breaks a mirror with a magpie image on the back of it in twain, with one wing on each side. He gives one side to his wife who stays in the capital and takes the other himself, swearing that the mirror will alert them if either is unfaithful. When the wife takes another man, her side of the mirror flies away to the other side and the cuckold learns of her infidelity.⁴⁴ This story is from the *Shenyijing* (神異經), a Chinese collection of tales from the early Han (or perhaps a Six Dynasties forgery). However, *Kigoshō* claims that the details of this story are in the *Nihongi*. *Kigoshō* also has a separate entry for the “*hashitaka no nomori no kagami*” which generally matches the entry in *Toshiyori zuinō*, although it replaces Emperor Tenji with Yūryaku and specifies that the hunt took place in Kasuga. This attribution to Yūryaku is picked up in the slightly later *Waka dōmōshō* (和歌童蒙抄, 1145-1154) which adds that the emperor got thirsty while walking about looking for the hawk and saw the reflection of the bird when he went to take a drink from the pond. This narrative proliferation would continue, with *Shūchūshō* then describing a demon who guarded a field (*nomori*) and possessed a magical mirror and *Iroha wananshū* (色葉和難集) describing a mirror presented to the king by a demon and a Chinese king who discovered a mirror buried under a mound while on a hunt.

⁴³ *Ōgishō*, in, *Nihon kagaku taikei* 1, ed. Sasaki Nobutsuna (Kazama shobō, 1983 [1958]), 306.

⁴⁴ *Kigoshō*, 76.

Despite only a handful of references to *Nihongi* between Toshiyori and Nakazane, the ingredients for what would become the medieval chronicles are all in place. First, the emphasis on *honsetsu* in poetry of the period created a space for *Nihon shoki* in poetic commentaries and a renewed interest in the conclusion banquet poetry from the Heian lectures. The format of these materials, organized as reference or study guides for composition, resulted in an episodic treatment of *Nihon shoki* itself and disassociated its contents with legitimizing the *ritsuryō* system. As seen above, pursuing a single word through the gamut of twelfth-century poetic treatises leads to more and more fanciful and fascinating explanations and greater and greater distance from the events narrated in *Nihon shoki* itself.

Setsuwa and the mid-12th Century *Nihon shoki* Boom

Ogawa Toyoo describes the “linguistic space-time” of the cloistered emperor period as “a space where meaning was manufactured in the form of events, and where origins were not restricted to one narrative but instead camouflaged with multiple and variant beginnings.”⁴⁵ This perspective is well-illustrated by the episode with the mirror described above, and this episode can be taken as representative of the period. Etymology as a study created its own mythology, and *Nihon shoki*, as well as Chinese texts, were valuable as origin stories for setsuwa. In poetic studies, sources for poetic words, especially “old words” whose meaning were no longer clear, were primarily taken from *Man'yōshū* and *Kokin wakashū*. However, the use of *honsetsu* in poetic explication and its slippage into setsuwa also created a nexus between *Nihon shoki* and medieval

⁴⁵ Ogawa Toyoo, “Inseiki kagakusho no gengo jikū,” *Nihon bungaku* 37-6 (1988), 48.

literature, which would eventually result in episodes from *Nihon shoki* appearing in every genre of the period, from temple origin tales and Nō theatre to *otogizōshi* and warrior tales. The most frenzied proliferation of material using *Nihon shoki* and the real jumping-off point of the medieval chronicles was the generation immediately following Toshiyori and Nakazane, centering on Akisuke's son Kiyosuke (藤原清輔, 1104-1177), Sanekane's son Shinzei (信西, 1106-1160), Fujiwara no Norikane (藤原範兼, 1107-1165), Fujiwara no Norinaga (Kyōchō) (藤原教長, 1109-??), Shōmyō (勝命, 1112-??), and later, Akisuke's adopted son Kenshō (顯昭, 1130-1209). Ogawa Toyoo has shown that Kiyosuke and Kyōchō were familiar with each other and in correspondence with Shinzei.⁴⁶ Kiyosuke and Norikane were rivals.⁴⁷ Between this group of monk-aristocrats, numerous poetic commentaries that heavily incorporated *Nihon shoki* were written. This same group is also responsible for incorporating *Nihon shoki* content into picture scrolls, legal judgments, and the first-ever commentary on *Nihon shoki*, Shinzei's *Nihongi shō*. Collectively, this reflects a boom for *Nihon shoki* in the mid-twelfth century and a more comprehensive attempt to use the text, initially as a source for poetic allusion, but now across progressively varied literary forms and genres.

Kiyosuke's *Ōgishō* (奥義抄, 1135-1144) is divided into two sections, one on poetic form (式) and another commentating example poems followed by a question and answer exchange (釈). As a laundry list of poetic forms, the first division does not cite other works extensively, however the second division frequently invokes honsetsu-style descriptions to explain the allusion of a given poem, and these explanations cite *Kogo*

⁴⁶ Ogawa Toyoo, "Inseiki no honsetsu to Nihongi," *Bukkyō bungaku* 16 (1991), 40.

⁴⁷ Ogawa Toyoo, "'Honbun to kinan: inseiki kagaku no disukūru,'" *Koten kenkyū* 1 (1992), 54.

shūi, *Man'yōshū*, and *Nihongi*. There are also instances where *Nihongi* or *Man'yōshū* are used like a dictionary, giving an example usage of a word or reading or to identify a place name. For *Nihongi*, there are over twenty total citations, as well as two others for *kyōen waka*, a dramatic increase from the scant references seen in *Toshiyori zuinō* and *Kigoshō* only thirty years earlier. For example, Kiyosuke provides the following poem by Nakatsukasa (中務, 912-991) and commentary in the section, “Forty-nine Poems from the *Gosenshū*” (this poem is number 1104).

あけてだに	At last opening it,
なにゝかはみむ	why do I look inside?
<small>みず え</small> 水の江の	I keep thinking of [myself like]
うらしまがこを	that youth Urashima
おもいやりつゝ	from Mizunoe.

This is something omitted from Chinese histories.⁴⁸ It is in the *Nihongi*. In the time of Emperor Yūryaku, there was someone named Urashima no ko in the province of Tamba, district of Yoza, village of Mizu. He caught a great turtle, which turned into a woman. He married her and went to Mt. Penglai. There he thought longingly of home and said he wished to return, and so the woman gave him a closed box, telling him it was a keepsake and not to open it. Overcome by curiosity he opened it and a purple cloud came out and flew up to the heavens. Because it contained the man's lifespan, he became elderly. He regretted it but there was nothing to be done. From this comes the composition on opening something and regretting it.⁴⁹

是はものこししよりおちたることなり。日本紀にあり。雄略天皇時に、丹後国余社郡水郷の浦嶋の子といふもの、おほきなるかめをつれりける、女になりにつけり。それをめにして蓬萊にいたれりけるに、故郷をこひて帰らなむといひければ、女封じたる箱を、是をかたみにせよ、ゆめ／＼あくなといひてとらせたりけるを、ゆかしさにあけてみれば紫雲在りてそらにのぼりにけり。このをとこのよはひをこめたりければ、をとこ老かゞまりにつけり。くやしとおもへどかひなし。これよりあけてくやしき事によむなり。

⁴⁸ The original has “monokoshishi;” I have taken this to be a mistake for “morokoshi-shi (唐史).”

⁴⁹ *Ōgishō*, 287-288.

While Urashima Tarō does appear in the *Nihon shoki*, the description is quite terse. There is nothing about going to Penglai, the closed box, a purple cloud, or Urashima turning into an old man. The story does appear in more detail in the Tango *Fudoki* and *Man'yōshū* IX; Kiyosuke's rendering is much closer to these accounts, though in these the cloud is colored white. This makes Kiyosuke's use of *Nihon shoki* instructive, in that he not only spurned a more useful account from at least one source he was certainly familiar with but also threw in additional information from either an unknown source or his own imagination, then presented it all as being from the *Nihongi*. Other examples show some confusion in terms of citations. For example, Akase Tomoko identifies one of Kiyosuke's citations from a private record (*shiki*) as actually being from *Kogo shūi*.⁵⁰ Most importantly, *Ōgishō* uses many more citations from *Nihongi* and other texts than *Kigoshō* or *Toshiyori zuinō*, illustrating an increasing reliance on these materials for poetic explication.

Written at nearly the same time as *Ōgishō*, Norikane's *Waka dōmōshō* (和歌童蒙抄, 1145-1154) exhibits similar treatment of *Nihon shoki*: as a dictionary and for explaining poetic allusions. The work is arranged into over twenty categories such as heaven, earth, seasons, etc., that discuss poetic words and topics that fall into those categories accompanied by numerous example poems. As will be discussed in the following section, Norikane almost certainly had access to a copy of *Nihon shoki* as he was involved in drafting the *Chōkan kanmon*, and he tends to follow *Nihon shoki* more closely than Kiyosuke; for example, Norikane's discussion of a poem on Urashima Tarō again mentions the episode as described in the *Yūryaku* volume, but does not bring in any

⁵⁰ Akase Tomoko, "Inseiki no Kokinshū jochū to Nihon shoki chūshakusho: Shōmyō *Mana jo chū o chūshin ni*," *Bungei ronsō* 30 (1988): 47.

outside information. However, this is not to say that he strictly follows *Nihon shoki* either, as many of the citations for honsetsu are not totally applicable. For example, he commentates the following poem from *Man'yōshū* II :169 as follows:

あかねさす	While the red piercing
ひ	
日はてらせども	sun shines,
うば ^{たま} 玉の	how sad is the sinking of
よ ^{つき} わたる月の	the moon which passes
かくらくをしも	through the blackened sky.

This poem is in volume two of the *Man'yōshū*. “Akane sasu” refers to red rays of light. “Hi” is in volume one of the *Nihongi*, where Izanaki and Izanami give birth to the sun god. This child’s light shined throughout the land. At this time heaven and earth were not far apart, so the child was raised to heaven using the heavenly pillar. The child was entrusted with the high heavenly plain. Next the moon god was born. This child’s light was second to that of the sun. In the same manner as the sun, the child was sent to heaven. One version says, the god [Izanaki] wanted to give birth to a precious child who would rule all under heaven. Then taking a bronze mirror in his left hand, he produced a god, called the sun god. He took a bronze mirror in his right hand, and the god that came out was called the moon god. The moon god is also called Tsukuyumi (月弓), or Tsukuyomi (月夜見), or Tsukuyomi (月読).⁵¹

万葉二にあり。あかねさすとは、あかきひかりさすといへる也。日は日本紀第一に、伊弉諾伊弉冊二神生_二日神_一。このみこ、ひかり国のうちにてりとほる。この時に天地あひされる事いまだ遠からず。あめのみはしらをもてあめにあぐ。さづくるに天の原の事をす。次に月神をうめり。其光日につげり。日になずらへて、又あめに送る。一書曰、神あめのしたをさむ珍子をうまんと思ふ。すなはち左の手をもて白鏡を取給ふ。則化生神、それ日神といふ。右の手にますみの鏡を取給ふ。なりいづる神を月神といふ。月神、一云、月弓尊、又月夜見尊、月読尊。

The original *Man'yōshū* poem expresses the sadness at the passing of Prince Kusakabe (草壁皇子, 662-689) by likening him to the moon sinking at the rise of daybreak.

Norikane is however uninterested in the metaphorical meaning of the poem and instead

⁵¹ *Waka dōmōshō*, in *Nihon kagaku taikei bekkann* 1, ed. Kyūsojin Hitaku (Kazama shōbo, 1971), 129-130.

uses two versions of the birth of the sun and moon, both from *Nihon shoki*, to explain the origin of the heavenly bodies themselves.

Such far-flung associations are not always used; for example, the following poem from the *Horikawain hyakushu* (堀河院百首, 1104?) and later the *Kin'yō wakashū* (金葉和歌集, 1124-1127) compiled by Toshiyori demonstrates a more immediate need for a *Nihon shoki* reference. It was written by Akisuke's father, Fujiwara no Akisue (藤原顕季, 1055-1123). Norikane comments as follows:

わがこひ 我恋は	My love
からす ば 鳥羽にかく	is like the words
こと は 言の葉の	written on the feather of a crow;
うつさぬほどは	until it is copied down somewhere,
しる人もなし	nobody knows of it.

This poem is in the *Horikawa-in hyakushu* and is by Akisue on the topic of secret love. In the first year of Bidatsu, fifth month, Koguryō submitted a document written on crow feathers. As they were all black, no one knew what they said, and after three days they still could not be read. Then the ancestor of the Fubito of Fune, Ō Jinni, exposed the feathers to the steam from cooking rice, then pressed a cloth on the feathers and transferred the letters completely and they could be read. The court thought this was wonderful. This is seen in volume twenty of the *Nihongi*.⁵²

堀河院百集、忍恋を顕季卿のよめる也。敏達天皇元年四月甲戌五月高麗上ける表疏、鳥羽に書り。黒くして知人なし。三日よむ事もえず。爰に船史の親王辰爾といふもの有。則羽を飯のけにならべて 帛^{ネリギヌ}もて羽におして悉に字を写してよくよめり。朝廷是をことなりとす。委見日本紀第廿卷。

Norikane's description follows the *Nihon shoki* account nearly word for word, though he abbreviates the episode in part. More importantly, the use of *Nihon shoki* as a honsetsu is quite clear in this case: without knowledge of the Ō Jinni episode, the poem does not

⁵² Ibid., 213.

make any sense. In total, Norikane has over sixty references to the *Nihongi*, and they are generally quite close to the text itself though as in the example from the *Man'yōshū* above, their application to the poem is not always justified.

Sanekane's son, Fujiwara no Michinori (1106-1160), better known as Shinzei, wrote the first *Nihon shoki* commentary since the lectures, *Nihongi shō* (日本紀鈔). The work was lost for some time, but is referenced in Kenshō's (顯昭, 1130-1209) *Kokin jo chū*; in an unrelated but fascinating episode Nishida Nagao realized in 1963 that a work in an exhibit of old books held at the Tokyo Art Club could be *Nihongi shō* and went on to confirm that the book matched the citation in *Kokin jo chū*.⁵³ The work is formatted like a dictionary, giving 305 words from *Nihon shoki* along with their *kun* reading, citation of relevant passages from *Nihon shoki*, and occasionally, commentary on the meaning of the passages. Its organization is not based on a straight-through reading of *Nihon shoki*, but instead classifies the words into categories: the first volume is divided into sections on heaven, earth, plants and trees, gods, and humans, and the second volume is classified as miscellaneous and divided into sections on object names, place names, words, and creatures. Abe Yasurō suggests that the commentarial approach is derived from scholarship on continental works but notes that the organization into categories also mirrors that of poetic commentaries such as *Waka dōmōshō*.⁵⁴ In the same vein, Nakamura notes several categorically-organized collections of Chinese poetry that preceded *Nihongi shō*, along with Nakazane's *Kigoshō* discussed above.⁵⁵ The salient

⁵³ Nakamura Hirotoishi, *Shinzei nihongi shō to sono kenkyū* (Takashina shoten, 1990), 3.

⁵⁴ Abe Yasurō, “‘Nihongi’ wa chūsei ni ika ni yomareta ka,” in *Kojiki Nihon shoki hikkei*, ed. Kōnoshi Takamitsu (Gakutōsha, 1995), 38.

⁵⁵ Nakamura, *Nihongi shō*, 5.

point is that this first commentary on the *Nihon shoki*, produced in a period when knowledge of the text itself appeared to be waning, has a dictionary-like format in the manner of a poetic commentary, forming a nexus between traditional commentary and poetics. The manuscript used here, now in the Kokugakuin library, also has an index at the beginning which lists all of the words for each section, allowing for easy lookup.

The breakdown of the words selected by Shinzei for comment heavily favors the first two volumes of *Nihon shoki*, followed by the Jinmu volume, which is consistent with the fact that most manuscripts of the *Nihon shoki* from this period are of the divine age volumes alone. Nakamura notes that entries across all volumes heavily favor *setsuwa*, leading him to conclude that this work may also have served as an “index of *Nihon shoki* *setsuwa*.”⁵⁶ This concurs with the usage of *Nihon shoki* seen in poetic commentaries, as the episodes (*setsuwa*) would be used for explaining the origin of things, and most likely of things in poems. Shinzei’s fascination with origins is similarly seen in the title of a no longer extant work called *Honchō koto hajime* (本朝事始), lit. “beginning of things in our land.”

Several elements in *Nihongi shō* point to the work being used for oral instruction. First, there are numerous places where the words as given in the index diverge from the words in the main text. For example,

#32	タチノハナ (index)	タチハナ (body)
#277	タツフレ (index)	ツフレ (body)
#33	葦具 (index)	葦牙 (body)

There are also places where the citation from *Nihon shoki* itself is incorrect. For example,

#40	蛭火光神 (NHSK)	蛭光耀神 (<i>Nihongi shō</i>)
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⁵⁶ Ibid., 7.

If *Nihongi shō* was intended strictly as a commentary on *Nihon shoki*, we would expect variation in the commentary, but not in the citations themselves. The two variations above also illustrate an oral element, as they differ in inscription but not necessarily in reading. There are also seventeen places where a later individual wrote in notes on readings or corrected mistaken characters, so the text certainly went through at least two phases of composition. Combining the presence of these notes with the variation in the text itself and with *Nihon shoki*, as well as the overall flavor connected to *setsuwa*, leads Nakamura to imagine that *Nihongi shō* is actually a transcription, and further, that it was handed down, perhaps from Shinzei to his son Chōken (澄憲, 1126-1203), famous for his oral lectures, and on to his grandson Shōkaku (聖覚, 1167-1235), also a Tendai monk.⁵⁷ This lends itself to an image of oral instruction of Buddhist teachings by a master to acolytes, which also explains the emphasis on *setsuwa*, with *Nihongi shō* as a dictionary or quick reference so that words from the *Nihon shoki* could be used to enrich the instruction. It also suggests that the text was only loosely authored by Shinzei, and was more properly a transcription of some portion of his oral instruction.

Shinzei's fascination with origins results in *Nihongi shō* being peppered with expressions like, “this is the beginning of the sun” (#1), “this is the beginning of divine music,” (#22), “this is what is now the Nara capital (#225), etc. However, Shinzei is not only interested in identifying these historical firsts, but also actively providing a basis for imperial governance. Shinzei was an adviser to the cloistered emperor Go-Shirakawa,

⁵⁷ Ibid., 16-17.

and *Nihongi shō* can be read as part of the effort by Go-Shirakawa to wrest control from the Fujiwara regency. For example, on the origins of wrestling Shinzei writes,

Contests of strength. In the seventh month of the reign of Emperor Suinin, in a place called Taima, there was a strong man. He could break horns. He said to others, “No one is as strong as I am.” The emperor heard this and asked, “Is there no one that can match him?” There was a strong man called Nomi from Izumo. The emperor summoned him and sent him to match with the strong man. Nomi crushed the strong man Taima’s hip with his foot. Thereby Taima’s rice fields were taken and awarded to Nomi. The name of the fields is Koshirota. The seasonal festival of *sumahi* began with this [emphasis added].⁵⁸

角力 是ハ、垂仁天皇ト申ケル御門ノ御時、七月ニタイマト云処ニ、チカラツヨキ人有ケル。ツノヲ又ヲリケリ。人ニ語ケル様、我斗チカラツヨキ人ナシ、ト云ケルヲ、御門聞食シテ仰セラルハ様、カレニ合せツヘカラン人ヲカナ、ト仰ラレケル程ニ、出雲国ニ、ノミト（云）人、チカラツヨキアリケリ。観門、是ヲ召玉イテ其ノチカラツヨキ人ニ合せ給ケレハ、ノミト云人、タイマ（ノ）チカラ人ノコシヲフミヲリテケリ。依之、タ井マカシリケル田ヲ取テ、ノミマロニタヒテケリ。其ノ田ノ名ヲ、コシロ田トナシイハケル。スマヒノ節ハ、是ヨリ始ル也。

Overall this depiction is faithful to the corresponding episode in *Nihon shoki*, but the meaning has changed. In the original, the passage explains the origins of the clan descended from Nomi and the name of the village. Shinzei omits this information and instead posits this event as the beginning of a seasonal festival that included wrestling. Ogawa notes that part of Go-Shirakawa’s political reforms, to which Shinzei was party, included the resurrection (creation) of court events, one of which was none other than the seasonal sumo festival (相撲の節会).⁵⁹ These festivals were memorialized in the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* (年中行事絵巻), which was likely created at Go-Shirakawa’s order, and the festival was likely the subject of the lost *Hogen sumahi zu emaki* (保元相撲図絵巻).⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Nakamura, *Shinzei*, 185-186.

⁵⁹ Ogawa, “Chūsei Nihongi no taidō: seisei no ba o megutte,” *Nihon bungaku* 42-3 (1993): 41.

⁶⁰ Komatsu Shigemi, *Nihon emaki shūkō I* (Chūō kōronsha, 1989), 266-267.

Gomi Fumihiko advocates taking the establishment/resurrection of the sumo festival, dances, and musical performances as one indispensable component of the structure of Shinzei's governance as Go-Shirakawa's retainer.⁶¹

Returning to the issue of transmission, what is particularly interesting about Shinzei's commentary is that it would begin to take on a life of its own, with citations of it appearing in later texts. For example, *Daigo zōji ki* (醍醐雜事記, Kamakura) attributes the following episode related to the sword Kusanagi no tsurugi.

Regarding the treasured sword. It is passed down from the divine age, and there are two sources for it. One is that it is presented to the great god of Isonokami in Yamato, and one that it is presented to the great god of Atsuta in Owari. Ama no koyane, child of the great Ise shrine, has eight children, the youngest of which is called Susano-o. A giant snake with eight heads and eight tails ate the eight children beginning with the oldest as a living offering. The last child, Susano-o, raised an eight-layer cloud in Izumo and hid inside, and the snake could not find him. Then Ama no koyane pushed open the heavenly rock-door and descended, and with a sword cut the snake into eight pieces. In the snake's tail there was a gathering of clouds, and in its middle a sword, so the sword was named "Murakumo." She took the sword and bestowed it upon Susano-o telling him that it should be used to protect the country's king. Once Susano-o was hunting in a field in Bandō when a fire suddenly appeared. He was going to die and so he drew his sword and faced upwards and lightly swung it. Two or three blocks of grass were laid flat and so he escaped the fire, and Murakumo was renamed Kusanagi. This explanation is from Shinzei.⁶²

宝劍者伝自神世根本「ノハ」有二其一ヲハ大和国石上布瑠大神ニ奉崇一ヲハ尾張
国熱田大神ニ奉崇太神宮ノ御子ニ天古耶根ノ御子ト申其御子有八人最弟ノ御
子ハ蘇佐乃於乃御子ト申頭八尾ハノ有大蛇八人ノ御子ヲ始自太郎次第ニ生贄トシ
テ「クラウ」之最末ノ曾佐乃於乃御子於出雲国立八重雲テ隱居給故ニ蛇不能見然程ニ
天古耶根ノ御子押開天磐戸テ下給テ以劍件蛇ヲハニ切殺給其蛇ノ尾「ニ」有村雲
尾中ニ有劍故件劍ヲ名村雲取其劍曾佐乃於乃御子ニ奉給テ云以之可為国王之
護曾佐乃於乃御子狩シテ遊給間ニ於坂東野火俄出来テ欲焼死尔時ニ拔劍テ向高

⁶¹ Gomi Fumihiko, "Shinzei seiken no kōzō," in *Nihon kodai no seiji to bunka*, ed. Aoyama Kazuo sensei kanreki kinenkai (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1987), 592-593.

⁶² *Daigo zōji ki*, ed. Nakashima Shunji (Daigoji: Kyoto, 1931), 410-411.

薄^テ二三町之「程」那義布勢「羅礼」奴「仍野火」脱故^{「二」}改村雲之名^テ
「クサ」
草 那義度名之^{「故少納言入道通憲」之説云々}

Kondō Yoshihiro suggests that this attribution must be from before Shinzei's death in the first year of Heiji (1159.12) and calls attention to its omission of Yamato Takeru in the story.⁶³ In the same vein, Ogawa notes that the attribution to Shinzei is not unexpected given that Shinzei's son Shōken (勝賢, 1138-1196) and grandson Jōken (成賢, 1162-1131) both served as head priests at Daigo Temple, and that Ame no koyane was the scion of Shinzei's Fujiwara clan.⁶⁴ By his interpretation, the sword is explicitly linked to serving the emperor and suggests a primary role for the Fujiwara. More importantly, *Nihongi* is being used as a *honsetsu* while simultaneously being incorporated at the locus of politics and religion regarding the basis of kingship.

This convergence of politics, religion, and poetics is also visible in the near-contemporaneous *Kokin wakashū chū* by Fujiwara no Norinaga (Kyōchō, 藤原教長, 1109-??). In discussing the kana preface, Kyōchō broached the issue of the sword when explaining Tsurayuki's citation of Susano-o's "Yakumo tatsu" poem.

Afterwards he [Susano-o] was pardoned for his offenses and returned home, and he presented two swords to Amaterasu. The sword he girt originally was named Kusanagi, and the sword he got from the tail of the snake was named Murakumo. They were passed down, and even now are called treasured swords which protect the emperor.⁶⁵

ソノハチツミユルサレテカヘリタマフニ、劔フタツヲバ、アマテルヲホム
カミニタテマツリタマヘリ。モトヨリハキタマヘルヲバクサナギトナヅケ、
蛇ノ尾ヨリイデキタレルヲバ、ムラクモトナンナヅケラレケル。ソレヨリ
ツタハリテイマダミカドノヲホンマモリニ宝劔トマウス、コレナリ。

⁶³ Kondō Yoshihiro, "Gunki monogatari to chihō bungei: Azuma no kuni no katarimono no tame ni," *Kokugo kaishaku to kanshō* 22-3 (1963): 44.

⁶⁴ Ogawa Toyoo, "Chūsei Nihongi no taidō," *Nihon bungaku* 42-3 (1993): 33.

⁶⁵ *Kokin wakashū zen hyōshaku* 1, ed. Takeoka Masao (Yūbun shoin, 1976), 64

Kyōchō's overall retelling is quite different from Shinzei's or that seen in *Nihon shoki*: Susano-o finds a house when he arrives in Izumo and goes searching for the inhabitants. He eventually finds the princess tucked away in the bedroom, but the parents have unfortunately already been eaten along with any of the help who did not escape. This leaves Susano-o to handle the brewing process himself, and after the killing the snake, he ends up submitting two swords instead of one as seen above. Unlike Shinzei, there is also no mention of Ame no koyane. However, they both describe the sword as a "protector." Kyōchō and Shinzei resurrect the *Nihongi* over one hundred years after the Heian lectures have ended in a way that intimates that they are providing facts on origins. However, they are actually introducing wildly new interpretations which in this case reinforce a new model of kingship at the end of the Heian period.

This same political angle can be used in assessing the *Hikohohodemi no mikoto emaki*, a picture scroll assessed to be from the late twelfth century. According to Komatsu Shigemi and Minamoto Toyomune, this emaki was produced along with several others at the request of Emperor Go-Shirakawa, with the written component penned by none other than Kyōchō.⁶⁶ As Mushanokōji Minoru has pointed out, this emaki deviates from *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* more than other works that use the same story such as *Kamiyo monogatari*.⁶⁷ The deviations suggest that Kyōchō was particularly invested in reading the episode in connection to direct imperial rule.

Ogawa condenses the variations between the emaki and the *Nihon shoki* into seven key points:

⁶⁶ Komatsu Shigemi, *Nihon emaki shūkō* 1, 332.

⁶⁷ Mushanokōji Minoru, "Hikohohodemi no mikoto emaki ni tsuite," *Nihon bungaku* 19-7 (1970): 67.

- 1) There are no proper nouns used in the emaki. Hikohohodemi and Hoori become “the younger prince” and “the older prince,” Toyotama becomes “princess of the dragon palace,” etc.
- 2) There is no exchange of talents. Rather, the younger prince borrows his older brother’s fish hook out of boredom.
- 3) Where the original story featured a tree by a gate where Hikohohodemi first arrived, the emaki describes two gates, and the younger prince is greeted at both of them
- 4) The younger prince attacks his brother twice using the tidal jewels; first he brings the waters up the brother’s neck and the second time he drowns him.
- 5) The taboo of Hikohohodemi viewing his wife giving birth has been replaced by him looking in because of concern for the child; subsequently her shame and anger are also cut.
- 6) Toyotamabime never returns to the dragon palace, and Tamayoribime never becomes Fukiaezu’s wife.
- 7) The tale ends by noting that the younger prince is now the emperor and that the older pays offerings in accordance to the vow that he made.⁶⁸

Number seven is particularly telling as it addresses the final words of the work; on the whole *Hikohohodemi* is hence explaining the origins of kingship and the imperial house and the financial relationship it enjoyed with those it governed. Put differently, this is a *honsetsu*, like those seen in Shinzei’s *Nihongi shō* or the poetic commentaries, but here

⁶⁸ Ogawa, “Chūsei Nihongi no,” 34-35.

being used for political legitimization rather than to explain poetic allusion. The tale's close reads as follows:

The younger prince is now the emperor. As for the older prince, his estate is in the province of Yamato, in Yoshino district, and in accordance with his vow, he submits offerings every season.⁶⁹

おとうとのみこはいまにみかどになりつゝおはす。このかみのみこのぞう
はやまとのくによしのこほりにてちかひによりてせちゑごとくにゑをたて
まつるなり。

The biggest deviation from *Nihon shoki* in this section is the mention of offerings and Yoshino; in *Nihon shoki* the older brother only agrees to be the younger's jester and is recorded as the ancestor of the Hayato. Mushanokōji has suggested that this could simply be from confusion with the district of Yoshinokuzu (吉野国栖), which *Engi shiki* records as doing performances and submitting offerings.⁷⁰ In any case, the tale has changed from a story about the submission of a tribe on the borderlands of the empire to one about the rights to capital extraction from the center. In this sense, the location of the Hayato is less important for Kyōchō than the submission of offerings, which suggests an ancient political system of organization, or rather, that Kyōchō imagined such an organization existed in the ancient period.

Of further note is the fluctuating relationship between the emperor and the land during the period of cloistered rule and later the Hogen rebellion. For example, the 1157 Hogen Reforms (保元新制), released by Emperor Go-Shirakawa and Shinzei, were an attempt by the court to take control of privately-held shōen. In general such attempts by the emperor to take control of donated shōen were not rare; more interesting is that this

⁶⁹ *Hikohohodeminomikoto emaki urashima myōjin engi*, in *Nihon emaki taisei* 22, ed. Komatsu Shigemi (Chūō kōronsha, 1979), 134. Punctuation and *dakuon* to the original added by the author.

⁷⁰ Mushanokōji, "*Hikohohodemi*," 74-75.

particular *emaki* is suggesting, in the form of yearly donations, that a particular group of people was directly attached to the emperor. This would suggest that they both be exempted from other taxes as well as that their offerings go directly to Go-Shirakawa, and this *honsetsu* can be understood as modifying a story of ancient kingship to justify the late twelfth century demand for a strong central ruler.

In a similar vein, Hotate Michihisa has identified a world of *mikuri* (御厨, offerings of food and drink made to the gods) in medieval feudalism that parallels both the type of offerings being discussed in *Hikohohodemi*'s final lines and the visuals of the scroll itself; Hotate points in particular to the scenes depicting the two brothers' mansions and the preparation of fish in the courtyard.⁷¹ In comparison to the *Nihon shoki*, where the older brother is identified as being of low social status and part of a different ethnic group, Hotate's point that *Hikohohodemi* ends with a discussion of the *mikuri* and *shōen* illustrates how tightly connected the scroll is to medieval social formation. This point plays out in many other works from the period. For example, the sumo origin discussed earlier in Shinzei calls it "the beginning of the sumo seasonal event (節)." ⁷² Kyōchō used *sechie* (節会) to describe the offerings made by the older brother; in both cases there is a movement to create and legitimate a system of making imperial offerings using content from *Nihon shoki*.

Returning to the afterlife of *Nihongi shō*, Shinzei was cited directly in poetic commentaries, and this usage extended to the *Nihon shoki* itself as well, in Shōmyō's

⁷¹ Hotate Michihisa, "*Hikohohodemi no no mikoto emaki to mikuri teki sekai*," in *Kodai kokka no shihai to kōzō*, ed. Tanaami Hiroshi (Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1986), 368-369.

⁷² Shinzei, 185-186.

Kokin jo chū (古今序注) and the later *Yakumo mishō* (八雲御抄) and *Iroha wananshū*.⁷³

The most obvious use of *Nihongi shō* is in Shōmyō's notes to the *mana* preface of the *Kokinshū* (1167), which he would later combine with his notes on the *kana* preface (*Kōke bon kana jo chū*) into a single manuscript (1184), the *Kokin jo chū*. Speaking generally, the most peculiar feature of these commentaries is that while they frequently cite the *Nihongi*, the majority of the citations use *Nihongi kyōen waka*, Shinzei's *Nihongi shō*, and *shiki*. There are also several citations from *Kogo shūi*, but these are also conflated with the *shiki*. For example, Shōmyō gives the following explanation for the seven generations of the age of the gods.

The *Nihongi* says, when heaven and earth first divided, within that which was floating, there was something that had the form like a reed shoot. This became a god, called Kunitokotachi no mikoto. This is the beginning of the age of the gods. Ashikabi refers to the tip of a reed.

On Kunitokotachi no mikoto

Director of the Academy Fujiwara no Harumi, junior fifth rank lower

<i>Ashikabi no</i>	The sprout of a god
<i>kami no kizashi mo</i>	like the budding of a reed
<i>tōkarazu</i>	is not so long ago
<i>amatsu hitsugi no</i>	when considering it is the beginning
<i>hajime to omoeba</i>	of the imperial succession. ⁷⁴

日本紀云、アメツチヒラケルハシメ、ウカヒタ、ヨヘルナカニ、ヒトツノ
モノアリ、カタチアシカヒノコトクニシテ、神ノヨノハシメナリ、アシカ
ヒハ、アシノツノクメルナルヘシ

Here, Shōmyō cites the *Nihongi* but the commentary is an exact copy of the notes in *Nihongi kyōen waka*, with the poem itself being from the Jōhei conclusion banquet. As discussed in the previous chapter, the poem already departs from *Nihon shoki* mythology

⁷³ Akase, "Inseiki no kokinshū jo chū," 40.

⁷⁴ *Kokin wakashū jo chū*, in Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 5, ed. Kojima Noriyuki and Arai Eizō (Iwanami shoten, 1989), 380.

in giving Kunitokotachi a direct relationship to the imperial succession. Shōmyō regurgitates this interpretation while reinforcing it as being from the *Nihongi* itself. What is puzzling is that in one place Shōmyō cites *Nihongi shōen waka* (日本紀章宴和歌, *sic*), so it is clear that he was not confused about this being a separate text. Akase Tomoko has tabulated Shōmyō's citations of *Nihongi* and counts twenty-one poems used, with thirteen of them also incorporating the notes from *Nihongi kyōen waka*, and of the eight which do not include the notes, seven either do not have any notes given or only write “as seen above,” referring to other notes in the text. This leads her to posit that Shōmyō's general approach was to cite *Nihongi kyōen waka* without omission.⁷⁵ As Kōnoshi Takamitsu has pointed out, the primary import of this is that “the subtext [*Nihongi kyōen waka*] has ascended to the level of text.”⁷⁶ In other words, *Nihongi kyōen waka* is not treated as a commentary but as the original.

Shōmyō's use of Shinzei's *Nihongi shō* follows the same pattern. For example, in discussing the heavenly ten-span sword (Ama no totsuka tachi), Shōmyō writes,

The *Kogo shūi* says, when Susano-o descended from heaven he arrived at the headwaters of the Hi river in Izumo, and with his heavenly ten-span sword (called Ama no hahakiri and which is now at the Isonokami shrine; the ancient word for giant serpent is “ha” so it refers to cutting (kiri) a serpent), and he slew the giant eight-forked serpent.

The *Nihongi* says, this is the sword girt by Izanaki. Totsuka refers to it being ten spans. Once upon a time, Izanaki [*sic*] gave birth to the fire god, and because she was burned and died, Izanaki became angry and drew this ten-span sword, and cut the fire god into three pieces. The fire god was called Kagutochi.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Akase, “Inseiki,” 39-40.

⁷⁶ Kōnoshi Takamitsu, “Heian ni okeru nihongi: Shōmyō kokin jo chū o megutte,” *Nihon bungaku* 47-5 (1988): 18.

⁷⁷ *Kokin wakashū jo chū*, 387.

古語拾遺云、素戔鳴神自天而降到於出雲国簸之川上、以天十握劔 其名天
羽々斬、今在石上神宮、古語大蛇謂之羽、々言斬蛇也、斬八岐大蛇
日本紀云、コレハ、イサナキノミコトノハキタマヘルタチナリ、トツカト
イフハ、トニキトイフコトナリ、ムカシ、イサナキノミコト火ノカミヲウ
ミテ、コカレテウセタマヒニケルハ、イサナキノミコト、イカリハラタチ
(テ)、コノトツカノタチヲヌキテ、火ノカミヲ三キタニナムキリタマヒ
ケル、ソノ火ノカミヲハ、カクトチトナムイヒケル

Here, *Kogo shūi* and *Nihongi* are combined to explain the heavenly ten-span sword, giving examples from early texts where such swords appear. However, here where Shōmyō appears to be citing the *Nihongi* is actually a passage quoted verbatim from Shinzei's *Nihongi shō*. Akase finds sixty-one examples of *Nihongi shō* used in *Jo chū* alone, with more, sometimes without citing *Nihongi*, in Shōmyō's commentary on the kana preface.⁷⁸

A final peculiarity of Shōmyō's commentaries is that, as seen above, he cites *Kogo shūi*, but in some cases these passages are not in *Kogo shūi* at all but do appear as *shiki* that are cited in *Shaku Nihongi*. Shōmyō also cites an *Kogo shūi uragaki* which again matches *Shaku Nihongi*; this phenomenon is also seen in Kiyosuke's *Ōgishō*, for example in his discussion of Yutsu no tsumakushi. Kōnoshi boils the significance of Shōmyō's citation approach down into two pointed observations: first, Shōmyō collects a number of texts that come to form, in his mind, the *Nihongi*, and within that new text, the base materials are all given equal value.⁷⁹ Second, Kōnoshi notes that Shōmyō is not simply cutting out and pasting together materials haphazardly, but is actually creating a new *Nihongi* of his own.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Akase, 40-41.

⁷⁹ Kōnoshi, "Heian ni okeru," 11.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 11.

Discussion above addressed the use of *Nihon shoki* as an explanation for allusion in poetic commentaries and how this usage merged with the political, but court documents from the period also reflect a renewed political interest and importance for *Nihon shoki*. In 1162, a dispute arose surrounding Yatsushiro no Shō between officials at the Kumano shrine complex and the governor of Kai province, Fujiwara Tadashige (藤原忠重). The Yatsushiro no Shō was donated by Fujiwara no Akitoki (藤原顕時, 1110-1167) to the Kumano shrine, and the shrine property should have been, under an order from the court of Cloistered emperor Toba, exempt from public taxation. However, in 1162 Tadashige's proxy governor, Nakahara no Kiyohiro (中原清弘), and others acted on Tadashige's orders to dissolve the Yatsushiro estate, removing the property line markers and collecting the estate's annual land tax by force. A suit followed, and in 1163 Nakahara no Naritomo (中原業倫) was ordered to investigate and tend a report, which found in favor of the Kumano shrine. Further, Naritomo found that the crime was a one of the eight unpardonable offenses (八虐) in the *ritsu* criminal code, great impropriety (大不敬), and should be punished with death by hanging. Naritomo's grounds for this were that "the explainer says, the Ise shrine is a greater shrine, and all others are middle or lesser shrines. An old record⁸¹ says, the avatar (*gongen*) of Kumano is the great shrine of Ise."⁸²

As seen in the discussion of *Sarashina nikki* above, there was already some confusion regarding the relationship between Ise and Kii; Naritomo's decision reinforces

⁸¹ 旧記. What Naritomo is citing is unclear, but Yoshiwara Hideto points out that the same explanation appears in Masafusa's *Gōdanshō*. See Yoshiwara Hiroto, "Inseiki no Nihongi kyōju," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* H11.3 (1999): 50n10.

⁸² *Chōkan kanmon*, in *Gunsho ruijū* 26, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi (Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1960), 237

the view that the Ise and Kumano shrines are actually the same. However, whether this was really the case or not became a more pressing problem once revenue collection and death by hanging became involved, and seven bureaucrats, including Norikane and the Chancellor Fujiwara no Koremichi (藤原伊通, 1093-1165), issued judgments on the case. Opinions on the unity of Ise and Kumano were divided, but Koremichi determined that Ise and Kumano were in fact different and Tadashige was spared the death penalty; given Koremichi's position it is unlikely that the verdict was decided absent political motivations as well.

It is clear that the Nakahara clan had a copy of the *Nihon shoki* during this period.⁸³ However, Naritomo did not cite the text in his decision; given that there is no description of Ise and Kumano being the same in the *Nihon shoki* this is not particularly surprising. Still, the text is cited, either as *Nihon shoki* or *Nihongi*, in all of the seven reports that followed, as are *Nihongi shiki*, *Kojiki*, *Sendai kuji hongei*, *Engi shiki*, *Kogo shūi* and others. For example, Norikane wrote;

The *Nihon shoki* says that when Izanami gave birth to the fire god she was burned and that this god withdrew. For that reason she is interred in the village of Arima in the province of Kii. This god's spirit is celebrated in a local festival. When the flowers bloom they are used in the festival. Also drums, wind instruments, and banners are used and they celebrate with song and dance.

The *Engi jinji shiki* says, The great shrine [Ise] is at the headwaters of the Isuzu river in the village of Uji in Watarai district. The great goddess Amaterasu is there. Izanaki has two shrines. One is where Izanaki is and one is where Izanami is.

The *Jinmyō shiki* [another part of the *Engi shiki*] says that Kumano Hayatama shrine in the district of Muro is a greater shrine. The Kumano shrine is a named greater shrine.

I [Norikane] suppose that from these documents, Izanaki is Amaterasu's father and mother. These gods are in Ise. They are also in Kumano. Therefore, the avatar of the Kumano shrine, though its name is different from that of the great shrine [in Ise], the gods are the same.⁸⁴

⁸³ Yoshiwara, "Inseiki," 50n11.

⁸⁴ *Chōkan kanmon*, 238.

日本書紀曰。伊弉冊尊生_二火神_一時。被_レ灼而神退去矣。故葬_二於紀伊国熊野之有馬村_一焉。土俗祭_二此神之魂_一者。花時亦以_レ花祭。又用_二鼓吹幡旗_一歌舞而祭矣。

延喜神祇式曰。太神宮 在_二度会郡宇治郷五十鈴河上_一。天照太神一座。伊弉奈岐宮二座。伊弉諾尊一座。伊弉冊尊一座。

同神名式曰。紀伊国牟婁郡熊野早玉神社。大。熊野坐神社 神名大。

今案_二此等文_一。伊弉諾尊者。天照太神之父母也。彼神坐_二伊勢_一。又坐_二熊野_一。然者熊野權現与_二太神宮_一。其名雖_レ異。其神相同者也。

Even though Norikane's position was not adopted, that the same man who used *Nihon shoki* in *Waka dōmōshō* also cited it for a court decision is instructive; all the more so because his fellow jurors also cited it too. The development of the conflux of varying explanations and anomalous attributions to *Nihongi*, the so-called medieval chronicles, was used as seen above for poetic treatises; here it also makes an appearance in official court documents. The importance of *Nihongi* in these documents, as a basis for understanding the origin of things, mirrors that of its necessity for poetic composition. Yoshiwara Hiroto suggests that the events surrounding the production of the *Chōkan kanmon* in particular resulted in many bureaucrats needing to obtain copies of *Nihon shoki* for their own use.⁸⁵

From Jien to Heike

In 1203, the monk Jien (慈円, 1155-1225) had a dream about the imperial seal and sword, and in his pursuit of its interpretation, received a statement on the divine mirror, sword, and seal along with volume one of the *Nihon shoki* from regent Kujō Yoshitsune (九条良経, 1169-1206). Upon reading it, he wrote, “Looking at it [the dream

⁸⁵ Yoshiwara, “Inseiki no nihongi,” 47.

and *Nihon shoki*] roughly, the divine seal stems from the jewel. That section of the text is already clear. Likely it is the explanation of a matter that cannot be explained. This is how it was in my dream. The product [the dream] matches the original text (本文).

[Hence] it can be believed, and [the dream] originates from it.”⁸⁶ This treatment of *Nihon shoki* as a honbun by Jien mirrors that seen in the honsetsu application of poetics.

However, for Jien, this treatment of *Nihon shoki* would allow him to produce an original interpretation of the origins of kingship, attaching a new political meaning to the text.⁸⁷

Jien’s own relationship to *Nihon shoki* centers on his fascination with the origin of kingship and the relation between the ruler and those charged with assisting him, such as regents or shoguns. He lived through a particularly tumultuous political time, born one year before the Hogen rebellion and dying four years after the Jōkyū rebellion. His father Tadamichi, as well as his brothers Motozane (近衛基実, 1143-1166), Motofusa (松殿基房, 1144-1231), and Kanezane (九条兼実, 1149-1207) all served as regent or chancellor, and Jien entered the priesthood at thirteen and was appointed to archbishop of Hie for the first time in 1192. He describes himself in his magnum opus *Gukanshō* (愚管抄) in terms of his relationship to the regency, writing “the man known as the archbishop Jien is the younger brother of Kujō [Kanezane].”⁸⁸ Given this association with the Kujō, Ōsumi Kazuo reads the later securing of shogun, emperor, mother of emperor, and regent by members of the Kujō family as “the achievement of a lifelong dream.”⁸⁹ However,

⁸⁶ *Bizei*, in *Zokutendai shū zensho mikkyō* 3, ed. Tendai shūten hensanjo (Shunjūsha, 1990), 233.

⁸⁷ Ogawa Toyoo, “Inseiki no honsetsu to Nihongi,” *Bukkyō bungaku* 16 (1991), 37-38.

⁸⁸ *Gukanshō*, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 86, ed. Okami Masao and Akamatsu Toshihide (Iwanami shoten, 1967), 287.

⁸⁹ Ōsumi Kazuo, “Jien no Nihongi ninshiki,” *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 64-3 (1999): 52.

shortly after this cloistered emperor Go-Toba would raise troops against the Kujō monopoly in 1221; prevailing opinion is that the 1220 *Gukanshō* was written to admonish Go-Toba to abandon resisting the Kamakura shogunate. Jien's final observations on kingship are then collected in the 1222 *Rokudō shaku* (六道釈).

Returning to the 1203 dream, Jien envisioned the imperial regalia as representing the sword, scabbard, and mudra of Fudō (Sk. Acala). The sword was identified with Fudō's sword and the body of the king, the divine seal was Fudō's scabbard and the body of the empress. Through their intercourse, Fudō's mudra would be achieved, meaning the intercourse of Kinrinbucchō (Sk. usniisacakra) and Butsuganbutsumo (Sk. buddhalocanii), the "achievement of the Kingly Dharma and the Buddha Dharma (王法佛法)."⁹⁰ The product resulting from this union was the mirror, which is identified with Amaterasu and Dainichi nyorai (Sk. mahāvairocana). Thereby it is through the three deities of Fudō, Kinrin, and Butsugan that the position of the king and the land of the realm itself come into being. Jien went on to describe these contents to Go-Toba and Yoshitsune, who provided him with a *Nihon shoki* he could use to equate the divine seal (神璽) with the jewel of the regalia (玉) and buttress his interpretation of the relationship between the ruler and Buddhist cosmology. This understanding was also backed up by the rumor that a maid had seen a warrior open the box containing the divine seal and that it contained an eight-piece jewel.

Another critical component to Jien's understanding of the regalia was the loss of the divine sword when Emperor Antoku drowned at Dannoura. In volume five of *Gukanshō*, where Jien describes the fall of the Heike, he writes:

⁹⁰ Bizei, 232.

The loss of the treasure sword was regrettable with regards to the kingly dharma. In considering that its loss means that some principle that we should realize has been established, I believe that the present circumstances expressly reveal that because we have entered an age in which warriors serve as the august guardians of the sovereign, the sword was in turn lost.⁹¹

抑コノ宝劍ウセハテヌル事コソ、王法ニハ心ウキコトニテ侍ベレ。コレヲモコヽロウベキ道理サダメテアルラント案ヲメグラスニ、コレハヒトヘニ、今ハ色ニアラハレテ、武士ノキミノ御マモリトナリタル世ニナレバ、ソレニカヘテウセタルニヤトヲボユル也。

As the sword served as the king's guardian, its loss meant that its role would be filled by the shogun instead, and, with Yoritomo's final victory at Dannoura, the sword became useless. This closely parallels the closing passage from the record of Jien's 1203 dream.

How lamentable is this final age! Regarding the three treasures, the mirror, which was in the palace, has already been removed on the event of, etc. Three times there was a fire. The first time, the mirror flew out. The second time, the mirror was within the ashes but undamaged. The last time, the mirror was removed, and it was ordered that it be venerated. The divine seal box has not been repaired, for although it is precious, it has already been seen by someone, etc. As for the treasure sword, in the end it sank to the bottom of the sea, and could not be recovered, so it is lost. However, after this the warrior and shogun ruled the state of Japan, and they appoint the local stewards (地頭) of the provinces as they like. This is not the same as rule by an emperor or king, but they have received an imperial exemption [to do so], and the basis of their appointments is derived from imperial decrees, etc. After the treasure sword sank to the bottom of the sea, its virtue was entrusted to the human shogun.⁹²

抑末代悲哉。彼三種宝物等。内侍所ノ神鏡。其鏡已融了云々 炎上三ヶ度。初度飛出給。第二度有灰中。而不損失。第三度其鏡焼融了。裏取其。令崇之。神璽箱未改其体。雖為貴。已人開見之了云々 於宝剑者。終以没海底。不求得之。失了也。而其後武士代將軍。進止日本国。任意令補諸国地頭。不叶帝王進止。但聊蒙帝王之免。依敕定。補之由云々 宝剑没海底之後。任其德於人將歟。

⁹¹ *Gukanshō*, 265.

⁹² *Bizei*, 235.

Jien also connected his interpretation of the meaning of the regalia to the imperial accession ceremony, and his understanding was deeply linked to the hierarchal structure of the Tendai and Shingon sects of esoteric Buddhism.⁹³

Of more relevance here is Jien's relationship to *Nihon shoki*. That Jien would seek out a copy of the text in order to interpret his dream shows that he did not have immediate access to a copy at Hie and this was probably his first contact with it. However, when he later wrote *Gukanshō*, he claimed that he "did not know about events from the divine age" and left them out of his history of Japan.⁹⁴ In the preface to his conclusion, he lists all of the six national histories, but in his imperial chronology, while he notes, for example, that the Civil and Penal Codes were compiled under Monmu, he does not include compilation of *Nihon shoki*, *Shoku nihongi*, etc. He also notes in the colophon that *Nihon shoki* and the legal codes were written in Japan but barely anybody had read them; he uses this as a justification for writing in Japanese and claims that his work could thereby enjoy better circulation than *kanbun* texts or sutras. Ōsumi Kazuo claims that Jien did not directly reference *Nihon shoki* when writing *Gukanshō* at all; instead he relied on the *Renchūshō* (簾中抄, late Heian) and perhaps other texts that functioned as digests.⁹⁵ Jien's chronology also begins with Pangu (盤古), a mythical Chinese creator deity, and notates both mythical and historical Chinese rulers, but when he moves to discuss Japan he starts with Jinmu and omits the mythology of the divine age volumes.

⁹³ See Abe, "Chūsei ōken to chūsei Nihongi," *Nihon bungaku* 34 (1985.5), 34-38.

⁹⁴ *Gukanshō*, 129.

⁹⁵ Ōsumi, "Jien no Nihongi ninshiki," 54.

At the same time, Jien did not completely ignore *Nihon shoki* in the process of creating *Gukanshō* either, and Ōsumi argues that Jien rather tried to abstract the underlying perspective and thrust of *Nihon shoki* in order to draw support for the regency system.⁹⁶ In Jien's account, for the first fourteen emperors, inheritance passed without issue from father to son and reigns were comparatively long. However, after the death of Chūai, Jingū took over as Empress Regnant and required aid from Takeshiuchi no Sukune. As the ages passed, Buddhism was needed to preserve the realm, and Shōtoku acted as regent for Empress Suiko. Finally, when Fujiwara no Kamatari became a minister, Fujiwara hegemony over the position was cemented, and crisis emerged if a non-Fujiwara took over, for example, during the hegemony of Sugawara no Michizane. Jien linked the role of the regency to the age of the gods, saying:

As instructed by the Great Goddess of Ise and Hachiman Bosatsu, the emperor should not be cautious towards his guardian minister. Thus the so-called fish-in-water model was established. According to this relationship alone is the realm peaceful or chaotic. Ama no Koyane and Amaterasu made an agreement that Ama no Koyane would stay in and guard well the imperial residence.⁹⁷

太神宮・八幡大菩薩ノ御ヲシヘノヤウハ、「御ウシロミノ臣下トスコシモ心ヲオカズヲハシマセ」トテ、魚水合体ノ礼ト云コトヲサダメラレタル也。コノ計ニテ天下ノヲサマリミダルハ事ハ侍ナリ。アマノコヤネノミコトニ、アマテルヲオン神ノ、「トノ、ウチニサブライテヨクフセギマモレ」ト御一諾ヲハルカニシ、

He repeats himself again in the same chapter, emphasizing that Ame no Koyane (ancestor of the Fujiwara) and Amaterasu had come to an agreement about the relationship between sovereign and regent. This is quoted from variant 9.2 of the *Nihon shoki*, though Jien

⁹⁶ Ibid., 51.

⁹⁷ *Gukanshō*, 329.

leaves out that the order was given both to Ame no Koyane and Futodama, ancestor of the Inbe clan.

The other significant point of contact between *Gukanshō* and *Nihon shoki*'s divine age concerns the nature of the sword. This largely follows the path Jien describes in the record of his dream, but he adds important detail about Antoku's true identity.

The sovereign at that time was called Emperor Antoku. As for his drowning in the sea, this sovereign was born as an answer to the prayers of Taira no Kiyomori, a blessing from the god of Itsukushima shrine in Aki province. Word has passed down that the Itsukushima shrine is for the daughter of the dragon king, and this god, feeling the conviction of Kiyomori's prayers, was born as the child sovereign, and in the end returned to the sea. So say people well-acquainted with the matter. I think that this is the case.⁹⁸

其後コノ主上ヲバ安德天皇トツケ申タリ。海ニシヅマセ給ヒヌルコトハ、コノ王ヲ平相国イノリ出シマイラスル事ハ、安藝ノイツクシマノ明神ノ利生ナリ、コノイツクシマト云フハ竜王ノムスメナリト申ツタヘタリ、コノ御神ノ、心ザシフカキニコタヘテ、我身ノコノ王ト成テムマレタリケルナリ、サテハテニハ海ヘカヘリヌル也トゾ、コノ子細シリタル人ハ申ケル。コノ事ハ誠ナラントヲボユ。

The association of Antoku with the Dragon King and the idea that the loss of the sword symbolized the final age corresponds with the description in *Tale of the Heike*. For example, the Enkyō version gives:

Some certain monks said that the snake which was cut by Susano-o in Izumo lamented the loss of its sacred sword, and being especially persistent, as it had eight heads and eight tails it manifested after the eightieth reign as an eight-year-old ruler, took back the sacred sword, and went to the bottom of the sea.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ *Gukanshō*, 265.

⁹⁹ *Enkyōbon Heike monogatari* 2, ed. Kitahara Yasuo and Ogawa Eiichi (Benseisha, 1990), 416-417.

Okami Masao and Akamatsu Toshihide have suggested that this passage from *Gukanshō* was based on the Enkyō version of *Heike* itself.¹⁰⁰ Hence, Jien is using *Heike* to bolster the system of thought he originally proposed in the record of his dream.

Conceptually, this type of sword-lore continued to grow and is an important constellation in the medieval chronicles. A passage similar to the above appears in the Kakuichi version of *Heike* as well, attributing it to “a certain scholar.”¹⁰¹ The first volume of the Book of Swords from the *Tale of the Heike* similarly builds on the association of Antoku with the dragon king. It concludes,

In the past that was is how it was, but now [the sword] has sunk to the depths of the sea; how lamentable this final age is. Considering this matter circumspectfully, the great serpent was especially persistent, and the great snake of the Fuwa gate, the mystic Dōgyō, and Iki Fudō were all personifications of it who said they would take the sword back. Not only that, but the serpent was born as Emperor Antoku, and in order to suggest the eight-year old daughter of the dragon king, he manifested as the eight-year-old sovereign and returned the sword, and now it is kept deep in the Dragon Palace.¹⁰²

昔はかうこそありしに、今海底に沈みし末の世こそうたてけれ。つらつら事の心を案ずるに、大蛇の執着深かりければ、みな彼が化身にて、「剣をとらん」としてんげるにや。不破の関の大蛇も、沙門道行、生不動、みなこの化身なり。あまつさへ、わが朝の安徳天皇と生まれ、八歳の龍女の姿を示さんがために、八歳の帝王の体を現して、かの剣を取り返し、深く竜宮に納めけるとかや。

The story continued to be spun throughout the medieval period. For example, volume 44 of the *Genpei jōsuiki* sees two divers reach the dragon palace where they meet the serpent and see both the sword and Antoku.

¹⁰⁰ *Gukanshō*, 505.

¹⁰¹ *Heike monogatari* 2, in Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 46, ed. Ichiko Teiji (Shōgakkan, 1994), 398.

¹⁰² *Heike monogatari* 2, in Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei, ed. Mizuhara Hajime (Shinchōsha, 1981), 274.

Conversely, when Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293-1354) wrote *Jinnō shōtōki* (1339-1343), the interpretation suggested by Jien and seen in the *Heike* needed to be overturned. Kitabatake wrote to support the Yoshino court established by Go-Daigo during the Kenmu restoration, which explains his interest in the imperial regalia; for Kitabatake, the fact that the Southern Court held the regalia was proof of its legitimacy. *Jinnō shōtōki* is Kitabatake's treatise on the subject, and he goes back to divine age mythology and *Nihon shoki* to reposition the origins and meaning of the regalia. The overarching argument is that the regalia were given to Ninigi by Amaterasu along with a divine imperial mandate. He then reformulates the regalia, disregarding the Buddhist cosmology present in Jien's interpretation.

The three regalia have been passed down through the ages the same as the sun, moon, and stars persist in the heavens. The mirror is the body of the sun. The jewels are the essence of the moon. The sword is the spirit of the stars. How profound this teaching is! [...] The mirror is the virtue of inspiration and the source of frankness. The jewels are the virtue of gentleness and propriety, the origin of compassion. The sword is the virtue of strength and decisiveness, and is the origin of wisdom. Without these three virtues combined [emphasis added], governance of the realm is truly difficult.¹⁰³

三種ノ神器世ニ伝コト、日月星ノ天ニアルニヲナジ。鏡ハ日ノ体ナリ。玉ハ月ノ精也。劍ハ星ノ氣也。フカキ習アルベキニヤ。【略】其スガタニシタガヒテ感応スルヲ徳トス。コレ正直ノ本源ナリ。玉ハ柔和善順ヲ徳トス。慈悲ノ本源也。劍ハ剛利決断ヲ徳トス。知恵ノ本源也。此三徳ヲ翕受ズシテハ、天下ノヲサマランコトマコトニカタカルベシ。

As *Heike* and other Kamakura readings had stated, the sword was lost at Dannoura when Antoku, a personification of the Dragon King's daughter, returned with it to the depths. This makes Chikafusa's assertion that the three regalia needed to be fully accounted for impossible, and he dealt with the issue when he spoke on Antoku's reign. He also

¹⁰³ *Jinnō shōtōki*, in *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 87, ed. Iwasa Masashi, Tokieda Motoki, and Kidō Saizō (Iwanami, 1965), 60-61.

addressed the issue of palace fires damaging the mirror, which he asserted had been moved to Ise before the fires occurred. The virtues that he speaks of are taken from the *Book of Documents*.

Those who are generally ignorant say things like, “the ancient mirror was burned in the Tentoku and Chōkyū fires, and it has been said that the Kusanagi sword sank into the ocean.” These are outrageous mistakes [emphasis added]. Our nation takes the true form of the regalia as paramount, the bestowers of blessings, and one of them could not be missing any more than the sun or moon that circle the heavens.¹⁰⁴

ナベテ物シラヌタグヒハ、上古ノ神鏡ハ天徳・長久ノ災ニアヒ、草薙ノ宝剣ハ海ニシヅミニケリト申伝ルコト侍ニヤ。返々ヒガコト也。此国ハ三種ノ正体ヲモチテ眼目トシ、福田トスルナレバ、日月ノ天ヲメグラン程ハ一モカケ給マジキ也。

The outrageous mistakes Chikafusa speaks of is a direct refutation of the interpretation seen in *Heike* and *Gukanshō*.

Competing assessments from supporters of the Northern Court also exist. For example, Nijō Yoshimoto (二条良基, 1320-1388), best known for his treatises on *renga*, suggests in his *Eiwa daijōe ki* (永和大嘗会記, 1375) that the sword was not lost at all.

There is an explanation regarding the three regalia that says that they sank to the bottom of the ocean when Emperor Antoku made a royal outing to the western seas. The mirror and the divine seal were found, but the sword was being worn by the nun Nii and so was lost forever. Because Emperor Antoku was born as a sacred wonder of Itsukushima, as an incarnation of the dragon king, he returned the sword to the dragon palace. This is truly suspicious. That sword was made during the reign of Emperor Sujin [emphasis added]. Also Shogun Yoritomo assumed the military authority in place of the sword...now the sword is in Atsuta. The sword that sank in the western seas is a copy of it.¹⁰⁵

この三種。安徳天皇西海に幸し給し時海底にしづみしを。内侍所神璽をばもとめいだされき。宝剣をば二位尼腰にさしたる故に終に紛失しぬ。安徳

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 154.

¹⁰⁵ *Eiwa daijōe ki*, in *Gunsho ruijū 7: kujibu*, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi (*Zoku gunsho ruijū kansei kai*, 1959), 181-182.

天皇は厳島の靈託にて生給しかば。竜王の化身宝剣を竜宮へとりて入給といふ説ども申伝侍り。まことにやおぼつかなし。件の宝剣は崇神天皇の御代つくられたる剣なり。但頼朝大将宝剣にかはりて武将の威をふるひ【略】今熱田にまします。西海にしづみし宝剣は是をうつされたるものなり。

Yoshimoto is equally clear to Chikafusa in rejecting the loss of the sword, but he also stretches his explanation to account for the incarnation of the dragon king. Further, as a supporter of the Ashikaga, he unsurprisingly echoes the idea that the shogun served as a stand-in for the emperor. Yoshimoto goes on to suggest that the objects themselves do not need to be possessed in order to convey legitimacy; rather he notes that as long as they have not left the realm, they can be considered to exist within the court. In this sense, the mirror in Ise, as the true form of the divine age, the sword in Atsuta, as guardian of military affairs, and the seal in Yoshino, guardian of letters, are all assembled. As Abe notes, here Yoshimoto is rejecting Chikafusa's position, but at the same time his proposition resembles the argument in *Jinnō shōtōki*.¹⁰⁶ Both Yoshimoto and Chikafusa attach new identities to the regalia and suggest that their union forms the basis of kingly legitimacy.

Kubota Osamu has suggested that Chikafusa, in addition to drawing heavily from *Nihon shoki* and *Sendai kuji hongī*, also made liberal use of the *Yamato hime no mikoto seiki* (late 13th century), the official record of the Ise shrine, and further, that Chikafusa came into contact with Jihen (慈遍, ??), a Tendai monk from the Urabe clan known for his “reverse honji suijaku” philosophy.¹⁰⁷ The idea that the three regalia symbolize the virtues of the ruler appears in volume four, “Deep Secrets,” of Jihen's *Kuji hongī gengi*. He also notes the location of the mirror in Ise and the sword in Atsuta, effectively saying

¹⁰⁶ Abe, *Chūsei ōken*, 43-44.

¹⁰⁷ Kubota Osamu, *Chūsei shintō no kenkyū* (Shintōshi gakkai, 1955), 167, 189.

that the damaged mirror and lost sword were copies.¹⁰⁸ This forms the basis for Chikafusa's formulation.¹⁰⁹ Jihen's lineage is also of importance; his brother was Urabe Kenkō, known for his *Tsurezuregusa*,¹¹⁰ and in the *Taiheiki*, the Urabe clan are known as the "house of the *Nihongi*" for their study and stewardship of the *Nihon shoki*. Bernhard Scheid notes that Jihen's interest in the kami more likely derived from his contact with Watarai Tsuneyoshi (度会常昌, 1263-1339), a major theologian of Ise Shinto, than his own roots.¹¹¹

Rise of the Urabe

Jihen's clan, the Urabe, are described in the fourteenth-century *Taiheiki* as "the house of the *Nihongi*," a reflection of their close ties to this text, and the house produced number of important manuscripts and commentaries from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. Originally, the clan was one of four that held offices in the Heian-period Department of Shrines (*Jingikan*), with the particular responsibility for performing turtle-shell divination in conjunction with major state events. The origins of the clan are described in great detail elsewhere and will be abbreviated here.¹¹² In 1224, the two lines of the clan, which had previously served the Shirakawa, ended their subordinate

¹⁰⁸ *Kuji hongei gengi*, in *Zokuzoku gunsho ruijū I*, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi (Zoku gunsho ruijū kansei kai, 1978), 145.

¹⁰⁹ Abe, *Chūsei ōken*, 43.

¹¹⁰ Recent research has called the lineage of Yoshida Kenkō into question. See Ogawa Takeo, "Urabe Kenkō den hihan: 'Kenkō hōshi' kara 'Yoshida Kenkō' e," *Kokugo kokubungaku kenkyū* 49 (2014).

¹¹¹ Bernhard Scheid, *Der eine und einzige Weg der Götter: Yoshida Kanetomo und die Erfindung des Shinto* (Wien : Verl. der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 87.

¹¹² See Okada Shōji, "Yoshida Urabe shi no hatten," in *Shintōshi ronsō: Takigawa Masajirō sensei beiju kinen ronbunshū* (Kokusho kankōkai, 1983), and Scheid 2001.

relationship; Scheid suggests that this, along with their takeover of stewardship for the Yoshida shrine, was even more important than their specialization in turtle-shell divination for establishing a family-owned scholarly tradition.¹¹³ The clearest manifestation of this tradition appears a few years later in 1228, when Urabe Kaneyori copied the *Sendai kuji hongî* and some sections of the *Nihon shoki*. As Okada Shōji notes, the most likely explanation for the Urabe assuming the role of experts on ancient matters stemmed from a rise in opportunity to perform divination for specific aristocratic houses in the Kamakura period, resulting in increased scholarly interest in canonical explanations related to the divine.¹¹⁴ By far, the most important of these aristocratic houses for the Urabe was the Ichijō, a branch of the Fujiwara founded by Ichijō Sanetsune (一条実経, 1223-1284).

Sanetsune's son, Ietsune (一条家経, 1248-1294) assumed the regency in 1274, following Kujō Tadaie (九条忠家, 1229-1275). At the heart of this transition was the 1274 accession of Go-Uda, accompanied by a type of succession ceremony, the Daijōsai (大嘗祭). According to the *Kanchūki* (勘仲記), Tadaie was released from his duties as regent because he was not familiar with the nature of the ceremony. A similar fate befell Ōnakatomi Tametsugu (大中臣為繼, 1221-1308), head priest at the Ise shrine, who was replaced by Ōnakatomi Takakage (大中臣隆蔭, ?-1279) because he was unfamiliar with the prayer he supposed to say at the ceremony; Takakage had performed the ritual at Emperor Kameyama's Daijōsai. He was also recommended by his brother-in-law Urabe Kanefumi (卜部兼文, ??). The importance of understanding rites of state led Sanetsune

¹¹³ Scheid, *Der eine*, 82-83.

¹¹⁴ Okada Shōji, "Urabe shi no nihongi kenkyū," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 64-3 (1999): 75-76.

to create a study group for the *Nihon shoki*, where Kanefumi lectured on *Nihon shoki* and took questions from Sanetsune, Ietsune, and Saneie (一条実家, 1250-1314).¹¹⁵ These sessions provided the basis for Kanefumi's son Kanekata (卜部兼方) to compile a commentary on *Nihon shoki*, the *Shaku Nihongi* (釈日本紀).

Shaku Nihongi is divided into twenty-eight volumes. The first begins with citations from the Kōnin preface and *Shoku Nihongi* to establish the provenance of *Nihon shoki*, after which it begins citing the question-and-answer section of the *tei* manuscript (Jōhei lecture) concerning the compilation of the text. It goes on to list the lectures, the six national histories, and finishes with a description of the protocol for the lectures and conclusion banquets. This format for the first volume of *Shaku Nihongi* suggests that Kanefumi and Kanekata imagined their study sessions with the Ichijō as a continuation of the lectures and that *Shaku Nihongi* was to be another *shiki*, the types of records examined in the previous chapter. The second volume of *Shaku Nihongi* gives a list of words from the text and indicates readings almost entirely using *on* sounds, for example “Taijitsureikuki” for “Ōhirume no muchi.” The majority of these are from the first and second volumes of *Nihon shoki*. The third volume is *randatsu* (乱脱), a technique used in explicating Literary Sinitic texts that would alter the order of sentences in a text in order to make it easier to read straight through. For *Shaku Nihongi*, these serve to make sure that reading notes given in the *Nihon shoki* do not appear until the end of a passage, rather than in the middle of a word, and further, that these notes always match the main text. For example, section 5.7 has a number of reading notes for gods that only appear in section 5.6; *Shaku Nihongi* moves these notes to immediately follow the end of section

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 77.

5.6. The fourth volume of *Shaku Nihongi* is a genealogy of the imperial line which begins, like Harumi's poem from the Engi lecture, with Kunitokotachi, and ends with Jitō. Volumes five through fifteen are explications of words and passages from the text, volumes sixteen through twenty-two provide *kun* readings of words in the text, and volumes twenty-two through twenty-eight list and explain the waka in *Nihon shoki*.

The majority of commentarial explanation takes place in volumes sixteen through twenty, as well as in the *kun* readings for the divine-age volumes of *Nihon shoki*. These sections are well-known for their extensive citations of other works, such as *Kojiki* and several *fudoki*, as well as a number of private transmissions (*shiki*) or court records (*geki*). Some of the *shiki* overlap with the fourth manuscript in *Nihon shoki shiki*, but *Shaku Nihongi* far eclipses any extant *shiki*, and at this point the original texts for most of the citations are lost. The heavy emphasis on citations has led modern scholars to see this text as “characterized by a distinct sense of objectivity and practicality” and with “strict limitation to empirical or ‘historical’ argumentation.”¹¹⁶ This is certainly true compared to other medieval commentators such as Shinzei, Jien, or Chikafusa. However, it is possible to peek through the veil of citations that Kanekata collects to see how Kanefumi and Kanekata imagined the *Nihon shoki* in the late thirteenth century. Kanekata's suppositions are always attributed, and based on comparisons with Kanefumi's copy of the divine-age volumes, Onoda Mitsuo shows that references to “the previous master” correspond with Kanefumi.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Scheid, “Two Modes,” 292.

¹¹⁷ Onoda Mitsuo, “Shaku Nihongi no seiritsu ni tsuite 2,” *Gakuen* 422 (1975), 21-22.

As might be expected for a medieval commentary, *Shaku Nihongi* heavily favors the *Nihon shoki* variant in which Amaterasu provides Ninigi with the three regalia and a mandate to rule the state. For example, volume eight begins with an explanation of the name “Masakaakatsukachihayabiame no oshiomimi no mikoto,” corresponding with the very beginning of *Nihon shoki* volume two. However, while fielding a question, Kanefumi reverts to discussion of variant one.

Masakaakatsukachihayabiame no oshiomimi no mikoto

Daigyō asked, “the three mausoleums from the divine age (Amatsuhikohikoho no ninigi, Hikohohodemi, and Hikonagisatake ugayafukiaezu) are in the province of Hyuga. We see them in the *Shoryōshiki* [in the *Engi shiki*]. Ame no oshihomimi does not have a mausoleum. Why is this?”

The previous master responded, “Amaterasu first presented the three regalia to Ame no oshihomimi. When he was preparing to descend, the imperial grandson (Ho no ninigi) was born. So the imperial grandson descended himself instead. Therefore Ame no oshihomimi never ended up descending to this country. So he has no mausoleum.”¹¹⁸

正哉吾勝々速日天忍穗耳尊。

大仰云。神代三陵（天津彦々火瓊々杵尊。彦火々出見尊。彦波瀲武鸕鷀草不葺合尊。）者。在_二日向国_一之由。見_二諸陵寮式_一。天忍穗耳尊者。無_二山陵_一歟。如何。

先師申云。天照大神始授_二三種宝物於天忍穗耳尊_一。將_レ奉_レ降之間。皇孫（火瓊々杵尊。）已生。仍以_二此皇孫_一代_レ親奉_レ降之。然則於_二天忍穗耳尊_一者。遂不_レ降_二此国_一。仍無_二山陵_一歟。

The question asks why Oshihomimi does not have a grave; the answer is because he never descended from heaven. Besides being from a different variant, the regalia Kanefumi discusses are not necessarily relevant to the answer, and in the main version of the story, do not appear at all. However Kanefumi understood them as an indispensable

¹¹⁸ *Shaku Nihongi*, 111.

component of the descent narrative. When he finally begins discussing words from variant one, he wedges the regalia in again.

Ashihara no chiiyoaki no mizuho no kuni

Daimon asked, “the fifteen-hundred autumns refers to annual seasons. At that time there were seasons; what of this?” [...]

The previous master added, “In this passage, Amaterasu bestowed the three treasures to the imperial grandson Amatsuhikohikoho no ninigi, and made the imperial pronouncement when he was going to descend. The season when the heavenly grandson descended to the twin peaks of Takachiho in Hyuga was autumn.¹¹⁹

葦原千五百秋之瑞穂国。

大問云。千五百秋者。是指年代之春秋歟。将當時節之春秋。如何。

【略】

先師退案云。今此文者。天照大神授三種宝物於皇孫天津彦々火瓊々杵尊。奉天降之時勅宣也。彼皇孫天降日向高千穗二上峯之時節。是秋也。

Again, the regalia are completely extraneous to the question, but clearly an essential part of how Kanefumi understands the narrative. This example is less jarring than the previous as the answer is from the variant in which the phrase being explained occurred.

Concerning the individual regalia, he confirms that the jewel presented to Ninigi served as the imperial seal (95), that the mirror was copied in the reign of Sujin (99), and that the sword resides in Atsuta (and not at the bottom of the sea). This matches the approach later seen in Chikafusa, however there is no discussion of Emperor Antoku at all.

Kanefumi also addresses the potential of a cosmological junction between the *Nihon shoki* mythology and continental sources, a strong contrast to Jien who only discussed the Pangu legend. In explaining the name of the sun goddess, Kanefumi says:

Ōhirume no muchi

[...]

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 117-118.

The master explained, “The *honji* of Amaterasu is clear from the section on Dainichi.”

Daigyō said, “According to the Shingon teachings, the mind of the *hongoku* of Dainichi is etc., etc. This phrase fits with that. It is a truly marvelous thing.”

Setsu asked, “In a foreign land, there was a giant named Pangu. He covered up and made the heavens, he looked up and made the earth. Where he looked it became day, and where he obscured it became night. He lived for 80,000 years. After he died, his eyes became the sun and moon. His bones became metal and stone. His flesh and blood became rivers. His fur became grass and trees. In our country, the sun and moon were born from the two male and female gods. Thereby we can say that the respective sun and moon of Japan and China are different. What do you think?”

The previous master replied, “We could say they are different. The relevant passage also has an explanation whereby the sun and the moon were born when Izanaki washed his left and right eye. This resembles the ancient Pangu.”

Toei said, “Jambudvīpa is one realm. The sun and moon of the two nations cannot be different.”

Daigyō said, “When inquiring into origins, though there be ten thousand things, difference cannot exist. Yet for the origins of the two nations and the beginning of the sun and moon, we can say they are different.”¹²⁰

大日靈貴。

【略】

先師說云。天照太神御本地。大日之條炳焉者。大仰云。大日本国者。真言教大日乃本国之心云々。今文符合。殊勝事也。

撰問云。異朝者。有_二巨人盤古_一。覆則爲_レ天。仰則爲_レ地。觀則爲_レ晝。瞑則爲_レ夜。寿八万歳。死後目爲_レ日月。骨爲_レ金石。脂血爲_レ江河。毛髮爲_レ草木云々。本朝日月者。陰陽二神所_レ生也。然則和漢二朝日月可_レ謂_二各別_一歟。如何。

先師說云。可_レ爲_二各別_一也。当紀文モ。伊弉諾尊洗_二左右眼_一生_二日月神_一之由有_二一說_一。相_二似盤古之昔_一歟。

都督云。南瞻浮州者。是一世界也。二朝日月不_レ可_二各別_一歟。

大仰云。尋_レ源。万事雖_レ不_レ可_レ有_二差別_一。二朝之起。日月之初。尚可_レ謂_二各別_一也。

¹²⁰ Ibid., 80.

The opening of this passage ties Amaterasu to Dainichi using the *honji suijaku* model of Japanese esoteric Buddhism, whereby Indian deities and bodhisattvas would appear as Japanese deities or historical figures. Naturally this interpretation is not a part of *Nihon shoki* itself, but the doctrine was well-established by the Kamakura period when *Shaku Nihongi* was written and there is no debate or question here about the theory's applicability. Other sections of the text incorporate the theory as well, for example bodhisattvas who "dimmed their radiance" to appear as incarnations are contrasted with complete transformation in discussing Toyotamabime.¹²¹

The remainder of the discussion tries to resolve a problem relating the mythologies of *Nihon shoki* with China and India. Interestingly, none of the three conflicting cosmologies is explicitly refuted, but rather equivocation allows them to awkwardly coexist, or more correctly, tries to force them into a parallel construction. The underlying conviction is that all things in the universe have a common origin, which is the premise of Daigyō's statement, and the scholarly explanation of the day is voiced by Toei, that both China and Japan are located on Jambudvīpa. Daigyō's resolution, that we can speak of different origin stories, but all things must originate from a singular source, is innovative in its own right. More important is that the latter half of the entry stems from Kanefumi, who is expressing the same thing as Daigyō: there are multiple explanations for the same thing. In this early example of religious syncretism, the existence of the *Nihon shoki* variant itself provides operating space to both positively identify the similarity to the Pangu myth while also preserving the main text version as a

¹²¹ Ibid., 121.

discrete narrative. The contrast with Jien, who used the Pangu myth but did not try to match it to the divine age stories, is quite marked. A similar treatment is seen in the following entry:

Tenchi aisaru koto imada tōkarazu

Sanwu Liji (三五歷紀) says, everyday heaven became ten feet higher, earth became ten feet thicker, and Pangu grew ten feet taller. This continued for 18,000 years, so the heavens were extremely high, the earth extremely thick, and Pangu extremely tall. Later there were three sovereigns [...] for this reason, heaven and earth are 90,000 leagues apart.

The previous master said, “In the divine age heaven and earth were not yet far apart. This matches the above meaning.”¹²²

天地相去未_レ遠。

三五曆記曰。天日高一丈。地日厚一丈。盤古日長一丈。如_レ此万八千歲。天数極高。地数極深。盤古極長。後乃有_二三皇_一。数起_二於一_一。立_二於三_一。成_二於五_一。盛_二於七_一。處_二於九_一。故天去_レ地九万里。

先師説云。神代天地相去不_レ遠。尤叶_二此儀_一歟。

Here there is no question-and-answer, only a citation from a continental source with a note verifying the parallel between the two. However, it does make clear that Kanefumi and Kanekata imagined some resonance between the myths of the divine age volumes and Chinese traditions. Other explanations similarly show that Buddhist principles were expected to apply to the text.

Kusaki kotogotoku yoku mono ifu

Setsu asked, “The grass and trees spoke. Why did they have to be pacified?”

The previous master said, “It means that gods like the ancestor of the grass Kusanohime and the ancestor of the trees Kukunochi exhibited evil hearts and resisted the mandate of heaven. The rocks, trees, grass, and leaves should not obstruct it. This shows that the grass and trees do not always achieve the Buddhist way.”¹²³

¹²² Ibid., 80.

¹²³ Ibid., 112.

草木咸能言語。

撰問云。草木言語。何強可_レ被_レ撥平_レ哉。

先師申云。草祖草野姫。木祖句々酒馳。如_レ此之類神。插_レ邪心_レ對_レ天命_レ之義歟。石木草葉言語者。強不_レ可_レ為_レ事障導_レ。非常^{情數}草木皆成仏道理顯然者歟。

There is some abstraction already here as the *Nihon shoki* does not mention Kusanohime and Kukunochi specifically resisting, nor is the wording “heavenly mandate,” with all its Confucian baggage, used to describe Ninigi’s descent. The text itself simply uses the concept of inanimate objects having voices to describe a state of disorder, in the same way “buzzing flies” are invoked to describe the archipelago. However, the potential of grass and trees to become enlightened is part of a longstanding issue, particularly in Tendai Buddhism and treated at length by Ryōgen (良源, 912-985), Chūjin (忠尋, 1065-1138) and others. *Shaku Nihongi* is using the divine age volumes to comment on Buddhist theology.

Present scholarship on *Shaku Nihongi* has invariably focused on the text’s production: Kanefumi and Kanekata’s lectures and manuscripts, the history of the Urabe house, and the extensive citations in the commentary that provide windows of texts that no longer exist. Very little has been asked as to how the *Shaku Nihongi* itself imagines the world and how it uses *Nihon shoki* to do so; Scheid’s 2001 essay is a notable exception. Scheid suggests a historical treatment that borders on euhemerism, based on a passage in *Shaku* that locates Ōnamochi’s Sun-Corner palace in Izumo as opposed to a metaphysical realm; a contrast with Ichijō Kaneyoshi’s interpretation (一条兼良, 1402-1481), who suggests the palace could be in heaven and will be discussed at the end of the

chapter.¹²⁴ However, characterizing Kanefumi and Kanekata as treating the gods as super-powered humans is overly extreme. For this particular example, Kanekata locates the Sun-Corner palace at a major shrine dedicated to Ōnamuchi existing in precisely the same location in physical space that the *kuni yuzuri* episode takes place. The more important issue in *Shaku Nihongi* is that the divine age narrative is being syncretized with esoteric Buddhist ideas of *honji suijaku* and continental creation mythology. This trend toward syncretism contrasts sharply with Jien and would be further developed first by Chikafusa and then totalized by Kaneyoshi, who matched the cosmology of *Verses on the Treasury of Abhidharma* with *Nihon shoki*.

Chikafusa, Syncretism, and Ise Shinto

Kitabatake Chikafusa was briefly discussed above regarding his rejection of Jien's conception of the imperial regalia. Certainly the regalia are a major constellation in how Chikafusa read the *Nihon shoki*, but Chikafusa himself is quite clear that they are only one part of a larger principle that can be abstracted from the presentation of the regalia to Ninigi and the creation story of the divine-age volumes. He states in the preface to *Tōkahiden* (東家秘伝),

In antiquity, for those who read this work [*Nihon shoki*] there were secrets, but those transmissions have been cut off, and there were things occult, but their causes have been lost. Therefore, those who want to make clear the way of readiness (用心の道) and the method to ruling the world (理世の術) must

¹²⁴ “What seems most striking to me, however, is the strict limitation to empirical or ‘historical’ argumentation. It is not doubted that the Sun-Corner Palace must be a real building at a precise geographical location, whereas no thought is given to a metaphysical explanation of Ōnamuchi's abode, in heaven or in the Netherworld. Thus the deities in the text are not treated differently from physical people. The mythological accounts are taken as reports of a time on earth when the forefathers of mankind were in possession of certain superior capacities and were thus called deities, but in every other respect they acted like men.” Scheid, “Two Modes,” 293-294.

especially visit the commentaries of India and extensively unblock the writings and histories of China, and further spend time becoming knowledgeable in the old histories of our country. [Then one will] roughly know the whereabouts of this way [emphasis added], which are in the origins of the creation of the universe and bond of bestowal and reception from gods and sovereigns.¹²⁵

古来読_レ此紀_一。或秘而絶_レ其伝_一。或暗而失_レ其致_一。故欲_下明_レ用心之道_一。識_中理世之術_上者。遍訪_レ印度之釈典_一。遠決_レ支那之書史_一耳。予久賢_レ我国之旧史_一。粗了_レ此道之所在_一。天地造化之根元。神皇授受之因起。

The underlined “this way” (此道) is Chikafusa’s abstraction that posits a singular principle determining governance and kinship that has coursed through the world from its creation.

Importantly, Chikafusa’s way is not based on *Nihon shoki* as an absolute text. He writes in *Jinnō shōtōki*:

Because they share the same world, although the beginning of the creation of the universe should be the same everywhere, the explanations of the three countries differ.¹²⁶

同世界ノ中ナレバ、天地開闢ノ初ハイヅクモカハルベキナラネド、三国ノ説各コトナリ。

There are numerous points of syncretism throughout *Jinnō shōtōki* that illustrate this approach. For example, Mt. Kongō in Japan is equated with Diamond Mountain in the Kegon Sutra, Japan is located on Jambudvīpa, Pangu ruled at the same time as Hikohohodemi, etc. A similar statement could be made regarding Chikafusa’s treatment of source material. He cautions against using sources other than *Nihon shoki*, *Sendai kuji hongī*, and *Kogo shūi* when studying the divine age when he discusses the whereabouts of the jeweled spear used by Izanaki and Izanami to create Onogorojima.¹²⁷ However, his

¹²⁵ *Tōkahiden*, in *Gunsho ruijū* 2, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi (Zoku gunsho ruiju kaneseikai, 1983), 412.

¹²⁶ *Jinnō shōtōki*, 45.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

own conclusion derives from *Yamato hime no mikoto seiki*; Nanami Hiroaki notes that there are at least seven different sources from both the Ise shinto and Ryōbu shinto traditions that parallel Chikafusa on this point.¹²⁸ The existence of a “way” explaining the nature of kingship that Kitabatake is trying to excavate from the *Nihon shoki* is similarly not unique to Japan or its deities. For example, in *Gengenshū* he writes,

The way of Confucianism principally explains governing the world and succoring the people. We cannot enquire prior to Yao. Yao passed it by Shun, Shun passed it to Yu, Yu to Tang [of Shang], Tang to Wen [of Zhou], Wu [of Zhou], and the Duke of Zhou. The thing Wen, Wu, and the Duke of Zhou passed to Confucius was this way.¹²⁹

He continues, noting that this way “overflows in the four directions, and spreads throughout the eight corners,” however, “in our divine country especially it is unknown that this explication existed from the first.”¹³⁰ This dovetails the motivation expressed in *Jinnō shōtōki*,

To begin with, because we can say that matters of Shinto are not easily manifested, if their origin is not known then chaos will begin. I write in order to remedy this defect.¹³¹

抑、神道ノコトハタヤスクアラハサズト云コトアレバ、根元ヲシラザレバ
猥シキ始トモナリヌベシ。其ツキエヲスクハシタメニ聊勒シ侍リ。

Put shortly, Chikafusa, after identifying the principle by which governance of the world happened in Indian and Chinese traditions, sought to do the same for Japan. Importantly, for Chikafusa states can only exist within this universal way; it is not a method of

¹²⁸ *Yamato hime mikoto seiki*, *Jinnōkeizu*, *Ruiju jingi hongon*, *Yamato kazuraki hōsen ki*, *Jingū hibun*, *Tenkō jisho*, *Tenchi reikaku hisho*, and *Tenchi reiki furoku*. See Nanami Hiroaki, “Kitabatake Chikafusa no nihongi ninshiki,” *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 64-3 (1999): 59.

¹²⁹ *Jinnō shōtōki gengenshū*, in *Nihon koten zenshū* 39, ed. Masamune Atsuo (*Nihon koten zenshū kankōkai*, 1934), 177.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Jinnō shōtōki*, 49.

asserting the supremacy of one state or another. More importantly, *Nihon shoki* is not an absolute text, but rather is used in parallel with other Shinto texts and held on the same level as Buddhist teachings. *Jinnō shōtōki* in particular takes *Nihon shoki* apart, combines it with other materials, and creates a new narrative of the divine age that expresses Chikafusa's way and, within it, the unique characteristics of the Japanese state.

Chikafusa's presents his larger cosmological frame in the most detail in *Tōkahiden*, which devotes much discussion to the opening lines of *Nihon shoki* and the primeval state of the universe. The work is essentially a digest of *Nihon shoki* with explanation of the following sections of abstracted text:

- Primordial mixture is the name of heaven and earth not yet divided.
- The form of the primordial mixture is likened to a chicken's egg.
- One thing came into being from within when yin and yang first divided.
- The number of the five phases which emerged each expresses its virtues.
- The male and female god gave birth to people and things.
- Change of the five phases establishes the eight trigrams.
- The five eras of earthly deities match the movement of the five phases.
- Each birth and each overcoming is a reversal.
- The origins of creations are all abstruse.
- Governance of the realm hinges on the way made clear in the divine pronouncement.¹³²

天地未レ割名ニ渾沌ニ也。
渾沌之形譬如ニ鶏子ニ也。
陰陽初判。一物生レ中也。
五行成数各著ニ其徳ニ也。
陰陽二神産ニ生人物ニ也。
變易五行建ニ立八卦ニ。
地神五代応ニ五行運ニ也。
相生相剋此為ニ順逆ニ。
造化之端皆是玄妙也。
治世要道神勅分明也。

¹³² *Tōkahiden*, 412-422.

Each of the above sections is then explained in detail. The actual phrases themselves are not exact quotations of *Nihon shoki*, and as Chikafusa notes in the preface, discussion is restricted to the creation of the world and Amaterasu's divine order and passage of the regalia to Ninigi, cutting the vast majority of the base text content. Conversely, Chikafusa adds substantial content; the discussion of the "primordial mixture" (混沌) in the first two sections, for example, focuses on the state of the world before yin and yang divide. Considering that the narrative of *Nihon shoki* begins with this division, Chikafusa's interest in the creation of the world is quite clear. In terms of cosmology, Chikafusa expends considerable effort in reconciling continental theories related to the five phases (五行), the five elements (五大), and the eight trigrams with *Nihon shoki*'s mythology. The crux of this syncretism is taken from Ieyuki's *Ruiju jingi hongen*; by far the most important borrowing is the usage of Kunitokotachi as an originary deity that combines all of the elements and phases. Recalling the conclusion banquet waka, Kunitokotachi was also identified with the founding of the imperial line; Chikafusa puts these together to encapsulate the fundamental principles of the universe and of governance into one divine body.

This is not to say that Ieyuki and Jihen were not invested in the issue of medieval kingship in their own right; the final volume of *Ruiju jingi hongen*, "Mysterium of Shinto," covers a secret transmission to be passed from the head priest of the Ise Shrine to the ruler upon accession. In Ieyuki's interpretation, Amaterasu gave Ame no koyane a "secret incantation" which would parallel "words of heavenly lifespan" that the priest would say to the newly-invested sovereign as well as passing along the three regalia,

which “signified mastery of the organs of state.”¹³³ Jihen’s *Kuji bongi gengi* discusses accession ceremonies only in passing, making reference to an unnamed outside document, which Abe has suggested might be related to Jihen’s discussion of Tendai accession ceremonies in *Tenchi jingi banchin yōki*.¹³⁴

A Totalized Theory: Ichijō Kaneyoshi

Much of the Urabe’s success in establishing a clan-based philological tradition undoubtedly stemmed from the patronage of the Ichijō, one of the five regent houses. This patronage gave the Ichijō access to the accumulated Urabe scholarship on *Nihon shoki*, such as *Shaku Nihongi*, and one member in particular, Ichijō Kaneyoshi (一条 兼良, 1402-1481), went on to write his own commentary on the divine-age volumes of the text, the *Nihon shoki sanso*. The provenance of the work is described by Scheid et. al., and it was probably being written down for the first time in the mid 1450s.¹³⁵ Kaneyoshi is well-known for his commentaries on *Genji* and *Ise*, served as twice as regent, and is the subject of a recent book by Stephen Carter.¹³⁶ However, his interest in mythology and the *Sanso* are not covered. Scheid analyzes one section of the *Sanso* in order to contrast it with *Shaku Nihongi* and Yoshida Kanetomo, illustrating that Kaneyoshi incorporated a strong metaphysical component to his commentary absent in the *Shaku Nihongi*. While this is certainly true, the core of *Sanso*, based on Kaneyoshi’s reading of *Verses on the*

¹³³ *Ruiju jingi hongon*, in *Shinpukuji zenpon sōkan* 9, ed. Abe Yasuō and Yamzaki Makoto (Rinsen shoten:Kyoto, 2004) 572-573.

¹³⁴ Abe, *Chūsei ōken*, 43.

¹³⁵ See Scheid, “Der Eine,” 93-100.

¹³⁶ Stephen Carter. *Regent Redux: A Life of the Statesman-Scholar Ichijo Kaneyoshi* (University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 1996).

Treasury of Abhidharma [Sk. Abhidharma-kośa-kārikā], is not discussed. As Kōnoshi Takamitsu has noted, this connection is critical because it evinces how meaning was constructed through cross-citations between *Nihon shoki* and works from the Buddhist and continental traditions.¹³⁷

Where Chikafusa's *Tōkahiden* only gives abstractions from the text as the basis of its comments, *Sanso* more closely resembles the explanatory sections of *Shaku Nihongi* in that it provides the actual text of *Nihon shoki* itself. However, Kaneyoshi was less invested in the proper *kun* readings of *Nihon shoki* and devotes the majority of his discussion to the text's meaning. This is done in more detail than any commentary so far – six volumes are devoted to explicating the first two books of *Nihon shoki*. He begins by tying the *Nihon shoki* opening to the quarterly units of a greater kalpa (mahā kalpa).

“Heaven and earth” speaks of form, and “yin and yang” speaks of spirit. “Still unseparated” means that upper and lower positions have not been revealed, “not divided” means there is no sign of movement. Before the great absolute (太極), the one principle was blended, form and spirit had not sprouted, clean and dirty were mixed together... According the explanation of lesser vehicle, this would be the empty epoch (空劫)...after the previous epoch ends, the next epoch begins, and the four epochs repeat without ending. This passage occurs in the empty period.¹³⁸

Kaneyoshi's discussion of epochs refers to the division of a greater kalpa into the empty, formative, existing, and breaking quarters – here because the world has not yet formed, it is assumed that this must refer to the empty period between the beginning and end of the universe. The following epoch, when the world was formed by the rising of the wind, occurs when Izanaki and Izanami drip the brine from the heavenly jeweled spear.

¹³⁷ Kōnoshi Takamitsu, *Kojiki to Nihon shoki: tennō shinwa no rekishi* (Kōdansha gendai shinsho, 1999), 34-35.

¹³⁸ *Nihon shoki sanso* (Kokumin seishin bunka kenkyūjo, 1935), 17.

“The brine that dripped off coagulated and formed an island.” This is the height of the yin. According the *Kośa* [*Abhidharma kosa karika*], the swollen rising power of action stimulates great clouds, and rain falls above the cylinder of metal (金輪), and the falling drops are like a wheel. Separately wind arises and eventually forms the circle of earth; this passage describes this.¹³⁹

Buddhist cosmology posits that the earth is a round, flat disc with Mt. Sumeru at its center, ringed by mountains, and filled with ocean upon which four continents float; we live in Jambudvīpa, the southern continent. Underneath the disc is a thick cylinder of metal, which is held up by an even thicker cylinder of water, which rests on a yet thicker and immensely broad cylinder of wind. The world forms when the primordial wind begins to blow and creates clouds, which rain on the cylinder of wind, and the droplets build up to form the cylinder of water. In this passage, Kaneyoshi matches the image of brine dripping from Izanaki and Izanami’s spear with that of rain falling on the cylinder of wind to force the *Nihon shoki* mythology to dovetail the cosmology of *Abhidharma*.

Kaneyoshi’s explication of the *Nihon shoki* opening also incorporates *On the Original Nature of Man* (原人論), a treatise by the Tang monk Guifeng Zongmi (圭峰宗密, 780-841). Zongmi’s goal with this work was to integrate Confucian and Daoist principles into Buddhism; *Sanso* quotes it to the same effect.

Guifeng says that the ghost of the metal storehouse [cylinder] are the beginnings of spirit and form. This is the great absolute. The rain falling and not flowing is coagulation of the yin spirit. The yin and yang combine with each other; then and only then is there generation and life. From the Brahma worlds to Sumeru is Heaven. The four floating continents, etc, is Earth. This is the Daoist teaching that one creates two. *Nihon shoki* renders this as “the light airy thing rose and became heaven, the heavy turbid thing sank and became earth.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Ibid., 36.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 23.

Here, Guifeng's syncretism of *Abhidharma* with yin-yang, Daoist, and three realms (Heaven, Earth, Man) interpretations of the universe is matched to a passage from *Nihon shoki*, converting the differing cosmologies of multiple traditions into versions of a universal creation narrative. Other citations of Guifeng are used in the same manner.

While Kaneyoshi is quite easily able to dovetail the sections of *Nihon shoki* drawn from *Huai nan zi* with continental traditions, a more heavy-handed approach is called for in the passages immediately following. By *Nihon shoki*'s account, the land floated on the surface of the water like fish when heaven and earth first separated, and the phrase used to describe the land is "island soil float" (洲壤浮漂). Kaneyoshi interprets this as follows:

"Island" means land that is in the water. "Soil" means hardened earth, and could be called the land of the state. This is where the spirit of yin hardened. "Float" means swaying; this is where the spirit of yin began to move.¹⁴¹

In the *Nihon shoki* version of the tale, when heaven and earth first divided the land floated on the surface of the water, but Kaneyoshi destroys this image by changing the meaning of "float" to "sway" (揺蕩) and associating it instead with the first movements of yin. He uses a similar trick on the metaphor of the fish (orig. 譬猶游魚之浮水上也).

"Fish" do not sleep at night, and the flow of "water" does not stop day or night. The two sprits [of yin and yang] move in a cycle, and do not stop for even one moment, so the fish and water are taken for a metaphor. In the *Kōsa* the accumulated water is struck by a fierce wind, and this gradually creates the metal cylinder, etc.¹⁴²

Where the original text is quite clear about the fish being a metaphor for the land floating upon the water, Kaneyoshi divorces the fish and the water and then uses their individual

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 25.

¹⁴² Ibid.

likenesses to discuss the movement of yin and yang, which he then binds to the cosmology of *Abhidharma*.

Kaneyoshi uses the *Nihon shoki* variant texts to reinforce the reading he locates in the main version of the text, even when the variants explicitly run counter to it. For example, the second variant does not mention heaven at all, beginning with “of old the continent was young, like floating oil” and saying that the gods appeared during this period while the land was not firm. Further, the gods do not appear between heaven and earth but rather on the land itself (于時國中生物). Kaneyoshi states that the “oil” mentioned is the same as the fish and water from the main text, reflecting the movement of yin and yang. The phrase “born on the land” is not commented on, sweeping the issue under the rug, and Kaneyoshi moves directly to discuss the gods that appear. Though their names differ from those in the main version, the same number of gods appear, and Kaneyoshi asserts they are all three male despite no such note about sex in the variant; by Kaneyoshi’s reading the names are different but the story is the same. This type of commentarial legerdemain continues with the next variant, which reads “when heaven and earth were mixed together, the birth of a god began” (天地混成之時始有神人焉). Following the three realms logic that Kaneyoshi is reading into *Nihon shoki*, this should be impossible; Heaven and Earth appear first, then the Human Realm (人才) appears after, and Kaneyoshi identified the gods with the Human Realm when explicating the main text. Further, only two gods are named. Kaneyoshi writes,

The third explanation abbreviates and only gives two gods. The *Laozi* says that all things were mixed together (有物混成), and that first heaven and earth were generated, and that this could be called the spirit of the primordial chaos (混沌). This meaning of the words in this book [*Nihon shoki*] is not the same. Perhaps “heaven and earth were mixed together” (天地混成) means to say when the

primordial chaos had already divided (混沌已分), creating heaven and earth. It would not follow to say that a divine being (神人) existed before the primordial chaos. After “divine” the word “human” is entered (神人). This is clearly the name of one of the three realms (三才).¹⁴³

Here, Kaneyoshi has taken a passage that explicitly rejects the reading he is advancing and reshaped it to buttress his own position. Using the *Laozi* gives him a definition for 混成 that refers to the time before heaven and earth were formed, which he invokes to bring in the concept of the primordial chaos. Then he reinterprets the phrase from the original. He closes by reinforcing the idea of the three realms.

Similar redefinitions work to the same effect elsewhere in *Sanso*. For example, the fifth variant imagines objects existing prior to heaven and earth dividing: “when heaven and earth were still unborn (未生), [there was something] like clouds floating on the sea, without root or place.” Kaneyoshi asserts that the character “生” refers not to generation, but to maturation (生猶生熟之生也), rendering the passage “when heaven and earth were still young.”¹⁴⁴ However, there are occasions when Kaneyoshi does not go out of his way to force the variants into agreement either. For example, the fourth variant says that the two gods Kunitokotachi and Kunisatsuchi appeared at the same time (俱生), but the earliest gods in other variants and the main text all appeared one-at-a-time. Here Kaneyoshi cites *Sendai kuji hongī*, which contrasts gods born in groups (俱生) with gods born in pairs (偶生) – though it should be noted that the text of *Sendai kuji hongī* does not match the *Nihon shoki* variant Kaneyoshi is associating it with. Then, Kaneyoshi simply notes that the variant differs and moves on. Nitō Miyako has suggested that

¹⁴³ Ibid, 29-30.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 31.

because the *Sendai kuji hongî* was thought, at the time, to be the basis for *Nihon shoki*, and beyond that, because of Kaneyoshi's respect for Prince Shōtoku, that he resisted forcing a reading that would make it match the main version.¹⁴⁵ However, since citation of *Sendai kuji hongî* is based on a single word in common (俱生) and, further, as the actual content of this variant does not match *Sendai kuji hongî*, though Kaneyoshi is not forcing a new reading of the variant, he is forcing the textual association. Another likely possibility then is that using *Sendai kuji hongî* absolves Kaneyoshi of having to reconcile the paired births in this variant. Moreover, while Kaneyoshi does not force a new reading onto the variant, he does use it as an opportunity to reinforce the main text of *Nihon shoki*. After paraphrasing *Sendai kuji hongî*, he notes, "Everyone reads this variant. However, in the main text [of *Nihon shoki*] Kunitokotachi and Kunisatsuchi appear independently, and this variant is different."¹⁴⁶ Kaneyoshi is criticizing the fixation on the variant, which could be more closely read to match *Sendai kuji hongî*, in order to push the main narrative that he has reinterpreted to match Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist cosmological principles.

The above discussion has only covered Kaneyoshi's reading of the first section of the first volume of *Nihon shoki*, but the depth of his syncretism only increases as the narrative proceeds. For example, Kaneyoshi identifies the six realms of Buddhist rebirth in the *Nihon shoki* narrative, equating the high heavenly plane with heaven, Susano-o and Amaterasu's fight as the Asura, the dragon palace as the animal realm, the ugly females

¹⁴⁵ Nitō Miyako, "Nihon shoki sanso no 'Nihon shoki': hajimari no monogatari," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 77-1 (2000), 37.

¹⁴⁶ *Sanso*, 30.

of Yomi as the hungry ghosts, and Ne no kuni as hell. The *bagua* (八卦) are represented in the eight children of Izanaki and Izanami, etc.¹⁴⁷

As could be expected, *Sanso* also discusses the three regalia in detail. Kaneyoshi divides and subdivides the descent narrative into sections, one of which is bestowal of the divine implements.

The three divine implements are the core of the divine book and the fulcrum of the kingly way. What is the kingly way? The two teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism are of matching principles (道理), and by removing what lies outside them, how could there exist any alternative way (異道)? This shared principle furthermore resides in the singular spirit (一心). Outside the singular spirit the dharma does not exist, and outside the dharma there is no spirit. Spirit therefore is divinity. The dharma is therefore the way (道). One is three, and the three are one, therefore the three regalia are the representation of the singular spirit.¹⁴⁸

In Kaneyoshi's reading, the three regalia are the axis of both governance by the emperor and the *Nihon shoki* itself, and that system of governance has at its core the principles of Buddhism and Confucianism. Like the *Nihon shoki* opening, here religious syncretism forms the basis for explicating the text. As far as the regalia go, this point is held in common with Jien, Chikafusa, and others. Kaneyoshi also eschews the word-by-word style of commentating seen elsewhere in *Sanso*: the entire discussion is explicating the three characters "bestowed the divine implements" (授神器). Nitō suggests that this is possible because the existence of the regalia had already become established fact at the time Kaneyoshi was writing.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ For detailed treatment of Kaneyoshi's use of the six realms and eight trigrams, see Nitō Miyako, "Nihon shoki sanso no 'nihon shoki': 'yashima kigen' 'banbutsu zōka' ni okeru sekai zō no saikōchiku," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 78-6 (2001), 15-27.

¹⁴⁸ *Sanso*, 135.

¹⁴⁹ Nitō Miyako, "Nihon shoki sanso no 'sanshu jingi' ron," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 84-3 (2007), 15.

In Kaneyoshi's interpretation, the most important feature of the regalia, as seen above, was in the idea of the singular spirit, a Buddhist idea for a universal source for the universe.¹⁵⁰ This singular spirit is first introduced when Kaneyoshi explicates the character for god (神) at the beginning of *Sanso*. He writes,

Explicating the character for “god” has three parts. The first abbreviates mind exiting the body. The second abbreviates *qi* making clear the names. The third abbreviates form demonstrating the teaching. First, abbreviating mind exiting the body. This singular spirit is the palace of the primordial chaos and the house of the divine illumination. *Nihon shoki* says, “heaven and earth were still unparted, yin and yang undivided, and they were mixed in chaos like an egg.” “heaven and earth” and “yin and yang” are names for *qi*. “unparted” and “undivided” is the representation of *li*. Li and *qi* mix and, and their union is immeasurable. This is called the primordial chaos.¹⁵¹

The li/qi model of the universe is a well-known borrowing from Song Confucian theory, which posited two mutually dependent components of existence; Kaneyoshi incorporates this theory by imagining that the two combined represent the primordial chaos described in *Nihon shoki* and further, he subsumes the two to the singular spirit. Hence, the regalia represent the fundamental aspects/forces of the universe itself.

Naturally, given the totalizing nature of the regalia, the three lights suggested by Chikafusa are also incorporated. Kaneyoshi continues,

The three implements are ordered as follows: the jewel one, the mirror two, and the sword three; this follows the order of their coming into being, as seen in the first volume of this work. What the three implements achieve is like the three points of the character “伊,” the three eyes of Maheśvara. Also the three types are in the realm, while the three lights are attached to the heavens: the mirror is the sun, the jewels the moon, and the sword the stars. Mirrors are round, in the image of the sun (日之像), and they shine, which is why this is. Therefore it is named “shape of the sun” (higata, 日像). The jewel was born from water. The moon is the spirit of yin and named “noctilucent” (yakō, 夜光). The moon also shines at

¹⁵⁰ As explicated, for example, in Kōjō's (光定, 779-858) *Denjutsu isshin kaimon* (伝述一心戒文).

¹⁵¹ *Sanso*, 9.

night. The night-shining jewel is the same as this jewel. The sword is the stars. Therefore it is said, the stars are the scattered *qi* of metal. The light of Fengcheng pierces the space between the Dipper and the Ox constellations. The divine sword is there. It always has the *qi* of the clouds. The sword and stars have the same *qi*. This should be seen. Therefore, the three lights make the heavens, and by transmitting the three implements, the heavenly ruler (天子) is made.¹⁵²

The first equivocation here is with the three points of the character “伊”¹⁵³ and the three eyes of Maheśvara; these two examples are given in the Nirvana sutra to describe nirvana itself as encompassing three mutually dependent dharmas (mokṣa, prajñā, tathāgata). The important point is that for Kaneyoshi, the regalia were similarly interdependent and came together to form a larger whole. Like the parts of the character “伊,” the three are each indispensable for forming the whole. Kaneyoshi then links each of the regalia to a celestial body, akin to Jien. Nitō describes this as a stem-and-branches theory, in which the stem or root of each object is the celestial body and the physical implement on earth is the branch or tip.¹⁵⁴ In describing the mirror, Kaneyoshi relies on a proper noun: the “higata no kagami” is one of the three mirrors associated with Amaterasu, and kept in the Hinokuma shrine. Its name means “shape of the sun,” which Kaneyoshi uses explain this connection. The explanation for the jewel is based on basic yin-yang theory that links water and the moon. The night-shining jewel is from “Biographies of Lu Zhonglian and Zou Yang,” chapter 83 of Sima Qian’s *Records of the Grand Historian*. Kaneyoshi must have imagined that the jewel shone at night like a light, further likening it to the moon. The sword he locates in-between Sagittarius and Capricorn; this is based on a legend in

¹⁵² Sanso, 135-136.

¹⁵³ I presume this means the left radical, the horizontal strokes of the right side, and the vertical stroke on the right side. It could also mean the three corners of the character.

¹⁵⁴ Nitō, “sanshu jingi,” 20.

the *Book of Jin* chapter 36, in the biography of Zhuang Hua (張華, 232-300). Zhuang Hua is investigating a purple haze that has appeared between the Dipper and the Ox constellations, and concludes that it is emanating from Fengcheng (Jiangxi province). He discovers two treasured swords buried that emit light. The legend provides a vehicle for Kaneyoshi to locate the sword in the sky, supported by the sword's luminescence and its association with clouds/haze. Finally, he connects the lights in the heavens to the heavenly ruler, linking the emperor to the system of associations he has constructed.

Kaneyoshi then attributes three virtues to the regalia; this mirrors the kind of treatment seen in Chikafusa. However, Kaneyoshi uses wisdom (知), benevolence (仁), and bravery (勇), following the *Doctrine of the Mean*.

Also the three implements are the amalgam of the two teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism. Kongzi says, the benevolent man is not anxious, the wise man is not perplexed, and the brave man is not afraid. Zisi's *Doctrine of the Mean* says that these three achieve virtue [天下之達德也]. While the way of the sagacious man is great, and he investigates broadly and speaks thusly, he does not go beyond these three things. The mirror shines beautifully, so it is the application of wisdom. The jewel was held in the mouth where it is warm and wet, so it is the virtue of benevolence. The sword goes along with the effect of rigidity, so it is the meaning of courage. Buddhism speaks of the three Buddha natures: the dharma body (dharmakāya), insight (prajñā), and emancipation (mokṣa). The dharma body is the virtue of thusness (tathātā) and the opening of the direct cause nature (正因性). The body of enjoyment (sambhogakāya) is the virtue of enlightenment and the opening of revealing cause (了因性). The response body (nirmāṇakāya) is the virtue of emancipation. Confucianism teaches that the three virtues originate from the origin of heaven. Buddhism teaches that the three Buddha natures are provided during the current life (pūrvakālabhava). Unifying them, we say they do not depart from the singular spirit. The singular spirit is the mind of all living things.¹⁵⁵

The citations of *Analects* and *Doctrine of the Mean* are stretched to fit: in the cited passage Kongzi is talking about the qualities of a gentleman, not the fundamental forces

¹⁵⁵ Sanso, 136.

of the universe, and the quotation from Zisi is a patchwork of quotes taken out of context and slightly changed. For example, Zisi writes “How great! The way of the sagacious man” (大哉聖人之道) but Kaneyoshi gives “While the way of the sagacious man is great” (聖人之道雖大). Chikafusa also employed virtues to discuss the regalia, but as Nitō notes, Chikafusa imagined the actual objects as the source of the virtues they embody, but Kaneyoshi treated the virtues as the source and the objects as extensions or manifestations of it.¹⁵⁶ Kaneyoshi goes on to link the virtues to the three Buddha-nature causes of Tendai Buddhism and the three Buddha bodies (trikaya). Conversely, Chikafusa does not incorporate the Buddha bodies at all, instead suggesting that the “bodies” of the regalia are the object at Atsuta, the object at Ise, and the jewels attached to the body of the ruler.

Nitō suggests this is an inconsistency in Chikafusa, as the jewels do not have a “true form (正躰) in the same way that the mirror and sword do.”¹⁵⁷ However, this is almost certainly deliberate on Chikafusa’s part, as it implies the ruler should have actual possession of the jewels. Toyama Kōichi presents the possibility that Kaneyoshi was trying to legitimize imperial authority even if the ruler did not hold the jewels, which were stolen during a failed coup in 1443 and not returned until 1458.¹⁵⁸ At any rate, Kaneyoshi’s formulation, which synchronized multiple cosmological explanations from India and China with the mythology of *Nihon shoki*, dwarfs the formulations of earlier commentaries and treatises in both its depth and ambition. In the Edo period, *Nihon shoki*

¹⁵⁶ Nitō, “sanshu jingi,” 20.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 21.

¹⁵⁸ Toyama Kōichi, “Ichijō Kaneyoshi no sanshu jingi ron o megutte jakkan no kōsatsu: nihon shoki sanso to kinketsu, chōroku no hen,” *Shintō shi kenkyū* 57-1 (2009), 96.

commentary would continue to attempt to dovetail with continental materials, but as the later volumes became a subject of scholarly inquiry, the tenor of these works took on a more positivistic and less metaphysical approach, at least until the rise of the nativist school. By far the largest impact of Kaneyoshi's work was in the creation of Yoshida Shinto, and the *Nihon shoki* commentary written by its creator, Yoshida Kanetomo's (吉田兼俱, 1435-1511) *Nihon shoki jindai maki shō* (日本書紀神代卷抄), which cites *Sanso* heavily.

As illustrated in this chapter, discussion of the medieval chronicles spans a wide range of genres, from monogatari and waka to emaki and political treatises, all of which claim some relation to the base text but most of which depart from it in order to serve their own designs. Far more examples, such as temple origin stories (*engi*) and *setsuwa* collections could be discussed but have been omitted here in favor of establishing the roots of the medieval chronicles, from the afterlife of the Heian lectures and its use in poetic commentaries, and materials connecting *Nihon shoki* with issues in medieval kingship and political legitimacy. These politically oriented works amply demonstrate the larger shift from how to read the text itself, the focus of the Heian lectures, to what the text means within a grander arena of competing cosmologies and worldviews.

Chapter 3 – Edo Period Approaches

In the Edo period, Shogunal patronage and the spread of Song Confucian philosophies led to a reevaluation of *Nihon shoki* with respect to continental histories. Whereas medieval commentary was primarily interested in the metaphysical and cosmological tenets of Buddhist and Classical Chinese texts, in the early modern period this grew to incorporate historical writings about early Japan in histories like the *Book of Liang* (梁書, 635) and others. These materials discuss the kingdom of Yamatai and Queen Himiko, which would become major topics in the Meiji period and are discussed in Chapter 4; in the seventeenth century, the biggest question was the relationship of Yamatai to Wu Taibo as he appears in the Book of Liang (梁書), as a quasi-mythical figure from China's Shang dynasty period (1600 B.C.E.-1046 B.C.E.). Chinese histories claimed that Wu Taibo was the ancestor of the Yamatai people. This chapter will begin with the Confucian scholars who began attempting to connect the *Nihon shoki* to Chinese sources before framing the major interventions in *Nihon shoki* scholarship of the eighteenth century, the Kawamura school and nativist (kokugaku) studies, in relation to these earlier attempts to understand *Nihon shoki* in terms of the Chinese classics.

Early Modern Confucian Historiography

Among early Edo Confucian scholars, Hayashi Razan (林羅山, 1583-1657) was especially prominent given his position of adviser to the first four Tokugawa shoguns. Further, Razan is frequently appraised as turning-point figure in Japanese historiography, and is praised along the lines of “historical study in the early modern period was pioneered by Razan”¹ and

¹ Hori Isao, *Hayashi Razan* (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1990 [1964]), 347.

“modern historical writing in Japan began with Hayashi Razan.”² What these appraisals generally refer to is that Razan was one of the first to compare the records of the *Nihon shoki* with Chinese sources and, when presented with conflicting information, cast doubt on the veracity of Japanese sources. As seen in Chapter 2, earlier commentators like Kaneyoshi approached conflicting materials with the idea that all were in some way correct and the role of the commentator was to paper over the differences. Concerning the *Nihon shoki* and ancient Japan, Razan’s first serious foray was a series of essays written in 1618 about Emperors Jinmu, Suizei, Itoku, Kōrei, and Kaika. When his son Hayashi Gahō (林鷺峰, 1618-1680) compiled these, he appended a brief note saying “the teacher [Razan] always had the intention of wishing to revise the national histories.”³ The first essay on Jinmu presents the most radical of Razan’s interpretations, the two most important of which are a euhemeristic reading of the divine age that takes the gods to be human actors, and Razan’s assertion, in line with Confucian ideology, that scholars separate their theses based on notions of public and private. The essay begins,

I theorize, the monk Engetsu (中巖円月, 1300-1375) of Tōzan [Kennin-ji] previously revised the *Nihongi*. It did not meet with the [favor] of the court and subsequently this work was burned. When I privately think on the meaning of Engetsu’s work, I surmise that this book takes Japan to be the legacy of Taibo of Wu. Taibo fled to the barbarians, cut his hair and tattooed his body, and dwelt with a dragon. His descendants came to Tsukushi [Kyushu]. Thinking on it, the people of that time must have taken him to be a god. Perhaps this is what it means to say that the heavenly grandson [Ninigi] descended to the peak of Takachiho in Himuka. Among the people at that time, perhaps some of them doubted him and resisted. Perhaps this is what it means to say that Ōnamuchi was made to submit. The reason that he dwelt with a dragon could be the explanation of intercourse with a sea god [Hohodemi and Toyotamabime].⁴

² John S. Brownlee, *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600-1945* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 15.

³ *Jinmu tennō ron*, in *Hayashi Razan bunshū* (Osaka: Kōbunsha, 1930), 286.

⁴ *ibid.*, 280. Translated with consolation of modern Japanese translations given in Hori and *Nihon no shushigaku ge*, ed. Kobayashi Hideo (Meitoku shuppansha, 1975).

Here, Razan's euhemerism is quite clear: Razan imagines that Wu Taibo, after deferring the Zhou throne to his younger brother and fleeing, was interpreted by early people in the archipelago as Ninigi's descent from heaven. Further, he suggests that Ōkuninushi's pledge to submit to Ninigi's rule could have been evidence of local resistance to Taibo, and that Hohodemi's marriage to the daughter of the sea god corresponded with the legend of Taibo having relations with a dragon. However, the above is entirely attributed to Engetsu. Razan goes on to make a very similar proposal himself.

As for the heavenly grandson, if he really were a child of the gods, why would he not descend to Kantō, instead of going to Takachiho in the far west? Why would he not build a capital in the central, good country, and why would the three reigns of Nigi [Ninigi], Hikoho [Hikohohodemi], and Ugaya [Ugayafukiaezu] live and die in Himuka? In Jinmu's 45th year he conquered eastwards...at last he killed Nagasunehiko, entered the province of Yamato, and built his palace at Kashiwara. This was due to Jinmu's military prowess, but how is that something like this was so difficult? The heavenly grandson had Ōnamuchi, and Jinmu had Nagasunehiko, and they blocked their advances and fought them. This is highly suspect. Thinking on it, Ōnamuchi and Nagasunehiko were chieftains of ancient days in our country, and Jinmu took over from them [as a new dynasty]. Ah, the descendants of the Ji (姬) family [Taibo] went for a hundred generations, and they were lords fitting for a reign of 10,000 years. Could it be that it has not peaked? Though the powerful Wu (吳) fell to Yue (越), the treasured shrines of our country extend to the limits of heaven and earth. I believe that this is the supreme virtue of Taibo. If Engetsu were still alive, what would he think of my words?⁵

Where Engetsu suggested that Ōkuninushi merely constituted a resistant archipelago inhabitant, Razan, in the section underlined above, proposes that the shift from Ōkuninushi to Ninigi and the shift from Nagasunehiko to Jinmu actually constituted a kind of dynastic change. This follows Chinese models of history in which political upheaval was proposed as a succession of rulers, and for Razan, Jinmu was the beginning of a Zhou dynasty in Japan. That the Zhou period was revered in Confucian ideology, and that Wu Taibo was a descendant of its founding clan, is icing on Razan's Song Confucian cake.

⁵ Ibid., 280-281.

Because the gods have been rendered as humans, this also means that Razan denied the cosmological scenario at the opening of *Nihon shoki* and its creation mythology. In *Jinmu tennō ron*, he expresses this simply as

At the beginning of heaven and earth, there were no humans who already existed. Therefore, there was something that would generate a transformation into humans. This is the spirit (ki) of heaven and earth; this what caused the generation. Therefore, there was a transformation of spirit and a transformation of form (katachi).⁶

Razan's view of spontaneous generation is evinced more clearly in a later essay.

What was the early state of humanity? In the philosophy of Cheng Hao (程顥, 1032-1085) and Cheng Yi (程頤, 1033-1107), there is a theory of a transformation of spirit and of form. If now you had one bag of rice, in many years the husks would fly away and become insects. Also, if you dig a hole, then take that earth and grass and burn it, if rain falls for one day and moisturizes it, grass appears all on its own, and insects and fish are generated.⁷

The underlined portion is identical to the earlier citation quoted above. This idea of animals forming out of nature holds for humans as well – the gods who Razan imagined were humans thus did not exist at the beginning of the universe. Razan imagined that the first humans were barbaric and uncultivated:

In ancient times, heaven and earth separated, and humans dwelt within that space. At that time, they killed the birds and the beasts, ate their meat, drank their blood, wore their fur, and shaped their hides; it was not the same as the manner of clothing and eating and drinking today...in later ages, sages appeared and built palaces, stylized the manner of dress, and adjusted the ways of eating and drinking.⁸

For Japan, the pinnacle of this sage-based civilization would be Wu Taibo. Razan's perspective that treated the gods as human actors and rejected the creation cosmology of the divine-age volumes of *Nihon shoki* was the beginning of larger trend in Edo Confucian thought that would

⁶ Ibid., 282.

⁷ *Zuihitsu 3*, in *Hayashi Razan bunshū* (Osaka: Kōbunsha, 1930), 823.

⁸ *Hōchō shoroku*, in *Nihon zuihitsu taisei 1-23* (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1976), 337.

be continued. Ogyū Sorai (荻生徂徠, 1666-1728) wrote in the same vein, “the age of the gods, because it was when humans who had passed away were revered as gods, should more properly be called an age when humans were worshipped as gods.”⁹ Arai Hakuseki (新井白石, 1657-1725) put it similar terms, writing, “the gods are human”¹⁰ and taking the events of the *Nihon shoki*, *Kojiki*, and *Sendai kuji hongi* as metaphors for human activity.

As pointed out by John Brownlee, Razan also wrote history with a strong conception of public and private domains, in conformity with Song Confucian historiography.¹¹ Razan asserts this first at the very beginning of the work, equating the Wu Taibo descent theory that would follow with his “private” thoughts on the matter. He reinforces this again at the end of the text.

Concerning Taibo, many people in the past spoke of him [as the founder of Japan]. I was not the first to say this. In the *Book of Jin* (晉書) there is an additional explanation about Shao Kang (少康). Truly, this is from the ancient past, and there is no way to know the details. I was born over 1,000 generations later, and say this from a place of uncertainty. It is totally acceptable for my disciples to refute me. Be that as it may, for those who theorize within the school, and those who write within the court, people of old [recorded] in this way. When Confucius compiled the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, he used the official history of the Zhou dynasty. What he said to his disciple Yan Hui (顏子) was that it would be used for the era of the Xia dynasty. There is the public, and there is the private. These two ways run side by side and do not counter each other.¹²

Razan notes that Confucius himself had doubts about the origins of the Xia dynasty but when he compiled his history he put those aside and used the official accounts, and Razan imagines himself doing the same thing here. The theory concerning Wu Taibo is his private opinion, but *Nihon shoki* is the canonical account, and so in the public sphere, he will adhere to it. However,

⁹ *Narubeshi*, in *Nihon zuihitsu taisei dai ni ki* 15, ed. Nihon zuihitsu Henshūbu (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1974), 33.

¹⁰ *Tōga*, in *Arai Hakuseki zenshū* 4 (Kokusho kankōkai, 1906), 75. See also *Koshitsū*, in *Arai Hakuseki zenshū* 3 (Yoshikawa Hanshichi, 1906), 219.

¹¹ John S. Brownlee, *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600-1945* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 28.

¹² *Jinmu tennō ron*, 282.

Razan never changed his opinion on Wu Taibo during the course of his life; just before he died he wrote the poem *Emperor Jinmu at 127 years* (神武天皇百二十七歳), which contained the following line:

By all means it should be known
That our country was founded by the Ji clan¹³

Hori Isao notes that Razan's son, Gahō, and grandson Hōkō (林鳳岡, 1644-1732) both observed the same distinction between public and private as their ancestor, and in that sense inherited his approach to historiography.¹⁴ Both Gahō and Hōkō supported the Wu Taibo origin theory, but also realized it was not appropriate for writing a national history as the account in *Nihon shoki* was the official one.

This public side of this distinction is most clearly illustrated in Gahō's history of Japan, *Honchō Tsūgan* (本朝通鑑, 1670). As Brownlee notes, in this work Razan omits the age of the gods entirely and begin his history with the first human emperor, Jinmu.¹⁵ This is true in that the first volume of the work, which summarizes the reigns from Jinmu to Keitai, is meant to be a summary of the work as a whole. However, it does mention that Jinmu's mother was the daughter of the sea god, and so while not incorporating the divine volumes it still follows the account of *Nihon shoki* rather than connecting Jinmu to Wu Taibo. Gahō later wrote a three-volume preface that discusses the events of the divine age, the postscript to which makes his attitude quite clear.

Preface to *Honchō tsūgan* in three volumes. It was arranged using *Nihon shoki*, with the *Sendai kuji hongī* and the *Kojiki* as references. Similarities and differences are stated, and complex superficialities were removed. Such was used as the underlying text. The

¹³ "Wakan jūdai zatsuei 3", in *Hayashi Razan shishū* (Osaka: Kōbunsha, 1930), 654.

¹⁴ Hori, 372-373.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

Yamato hime seiki and *Kogo shūi* were added with some imprecision. The *Gengenshū* is also interspersed. The preface somewhat mimics the records compiled by Liu¹⁶ and the example of the preface from Jin.¹⁷ Therefore it has been added to the beginning of the Jinmu volume in order to inquire into the holy origins of the divine country and worship the legitimacy of the imperial descendants. Matters regarding Shao Kang (少康) and Wu Taibo (泰伯) are legends from another region and not used here.¹⁸

The first thing of note is how Gahō compiled the volume; *Nihon shoki* is quoted verbatim with other texts occasionally interspersed to add additional content. By and large the *Sendai kuji hongī* is the most frequently used, and the majority of those additions give further information about names of gods, their relationships to other gods, and their descendants heavenly or otherwise. For example, in narrating the death of Ninigi, Gahō inserts a long passage from *Sendai kuji hongī* that describes the descent of Nigihayai as well as 30 other gods sent from heaven to support and guard Ninigi; it is noted which clan on earth each of these was the progenitor of. Similarly, Gahō adds the extended narrative of Ōnamochi seen in *Kojiki* in part because it does not appear in *Nihon shoki* at all but also more pointedly in order to include the seventeen generations of gods descended from Ōnamochi. These types of additions buttress the outstated aim underlined in the passage above of inquiring into the lineages of the imperial line, and the divine-age narrative is significant not because it explains the origins of the universe but because it makes this genealogy accessible. Gahō often notes when the names of gods differ between texts as well; one way to read these volumes is as a compendium of all the deities that appear in *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Sendai kuji hongī*. The mention of Shao Kang and Wu Taibo reinforces the public/private distinction Razan originally laid out in *Jinmu tennō ron*.

¹⁶ Liu Shu (劉恕, 1032-1078) was a Song historian who compiled the *Zishi Tongjian Waiji* (資治通鑑外紀), which covers the periods before those recorded in the *Zizhi Tongjian* (資治通鑑, 1084).

¹⁷ Jin Lüxiang (金履祥, 1232-1303) was a Song historian who compiled the *Tongjian qianbian* (通鑑前編) which covers material in periods preceding those recorded in *Zizhi Tongjian*.

¹⁸ *Honchō tsūgan* 3 (Kokusho kankōkai sōsho, 1918), 45.

Again, Razan's theory that the imperial clan was descended from the Ji clan can be considered first and foremost an attempt to unify the *Nihon shoki* history with continental accounts; in 1626 he would similarly criticize the Chosŏn ambassador regarding Korea's Tangun creation myth.¹⁹ The same conception was also useful for legitimizing warrior rule in a new way. Where medieval commentators like Jien and Kitabatake Chikafusa had, as seen in the previous chapter, posited the shogun in terms of a protective benefactor symbolized by one of the imperial regalia, Razan altered the basis for imperial legitimacy itself. Rather than being the fulfillment of a divine mandate passed down from Amaterasu, here Jinmu's establishment of the dynasty was an expression of the virtue of the Ji clan. Similarly, the use of metaphorical readings of the divine age volumes of *Nihon shoki* allowed Razan to divorce Japan's ancient period from the gods entirely, and by extension, to nullify the divinity of the emperor. It is notable that while the Wu Taibo theory continued to be of interest to Edo scholars, finding support in Razan's descendants Gahō and Hayashi Hōkō (林鳳岡, 1644-1732) and being refuted by Arai Hakuseki,²⁰ it was never censured or prohibited in print by the Tokugawa government.

Yamazaki Ansai and Suika Shintō

As Hori notes, it would be natural for Confucians to eschew the idea of belief in gods.²¹ In terms of reading *Nihon shoki*, this is the most critical component of Razan's interpretation, more so than asserting his positivistic or rational qualities: Razan's euhemerism changed the actions of the gods to human actors, and gave him a methodology to dovetail the divine-age

¹⁹ See Hori, 368.

²⁰ Hakuseki accepted that Wu Taibo had crossed over from the continent but suggested that he had become the head of a local elite clan, not the imperial clan.

²¹ Hori, 386.

volumes of *Nihon shoki* with continental histories. Further, this method would be adopted by other Confucian historians in the Edo period. However, it is also one of the biggest distinctions between Razan's flavor of Confucian thought and that of a rival school headed by Yamazaki Ansai (山崎闇斎, 1619-1682). The school is traditionally known as the *kimon* (崎門), and Ansai's unique brand of syncretism resulted in the creation of a new type of Shinto, known as Suika Shinto (垂加神道), as well as the first complete commentaries on the entire 30 volumes of the *Nihon shoki*.

Ansai's largest deviation from Razan was in his treatment of the divine age, which he read neither as the results of human action nor tried to divide from the historical age of humans. Where Razan used gods like Nagasunehiko and Ōnamochi to present Jinmu in the garb of a revolutionary ruler beginning a new dynasty, Ansai took them as representing continuity. While Razan and Gahō were editing their *Honchō tsūgan*, which began with Jinmu as a human ruler, Ansai was composing *Yamato kagami*, his own history of Japan. Unfortunately, this text was never completed and most of it was lost in a fire, but the table of contents remains and is more than clear about Ansai's understanding of Japan's history.

Yamato Kagami Table of Contents

Volume 1: Part one, heaven, record of the heavenly gods. Part two, earth, record of the earthly gods. Part three, mankind, record of Jinmu.²²

Nishioka Kazuhiko notes three critical characteristics that can be gleaned from the table of contents.²³ First, the ages of gods and men are treated as a continuity; second, female emperors are not recognized in the pattern of continental histories; third, the Southern Court is treated as legitimate. The second and third of these are held in common with Tokugawa Mitsukuni's policy

²² *Suika okina shinsetsu hoi*, in *Shintō taiei ronsetsu hen 12 suika shintō 1*, ed. Kondō Keigo (Shintō taiei hensankai, 1984), 426.

²³ Nishioka Kazuhiko, "Suika ha no Nihongi kenkyū," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 64-3 (1999): 108.

for editing the *Dai nihon shi*, but the first differs from both Razan and Mitsukuni. Ansai's treatment is rather split along the lines of heaven (Kunitokotachi to Izanaki and Izanami), earth (Amaterasu to Fukiaezu), and men (from Jinmu), and this is compounded in that these three are included in the same volume of *Yamato kagami*. Put differently, where Razan would not accept the divine-age volumes as history (a sentiment put most vociferously in private), Ansai imagined them as part of a single history. He also was suspicious of the idea of Wu Taibo as presented by Razan and lamented the general failure of Confucian scholars to understand Japanese works.

In recent days in our country Confucian scholars find excellence in the historical facts of China, put their intellectual efforts into the poetry and prose of China, and are uninformed on Japanese books. Poets are accustomed to hearing the words of Japan, but because they do not cross over into the works of China, they cannot read the prose, and cannot read works like the *Nihongi*. In this deplorable state, we should not blame people from other countries, and in addition Confucian scholars take the words from the Ji clan country (Zhou dynasty) and slander Taibo, and the Buddhists based on the name of Ōhirume bring in Dainichi. All of these commit the crime of falsehood, and depart from honest teachings, and are an uninformed perversion.²⁴

Notably, Ansai roundly rejects any sort of syncretism, whether between Buddhist deities and kami or between characters in *Nihon shoki* and in Chinese histories.

In his own words, Ansai's history of Japan begins with a visit to the Fujimori Shrine in Kyoto, one part of which venerates imperial prince Toneri, the original editor of *Nihon shoki*. Ansai wrote in his 1657 *Yamato shōgaku* (大和小学),

The *Nihongi* was compiled by Prince Toneri. The prince was learned beyond peer, given the posthumous name of "Emperor Sudō Jinkyō," and he is venerated at the Fujimori shrine. Saying I was going to write the *Yamato kagami*, I visited Fujimori, thinking that for the vast and distant Divine Age volumes which are difficult to understand, were I to seek the truth in my heart, how could it not follow?²⁵

²⁴ *Suika okina shinsetsu*, in *Shintō taikēi ronsetsu hen 12 suika shintō 1*, ed. Kondō Keigo (Shintō taikēi hensankai, 1984), 390.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 394.

Ansai imagined that knowledge of the ancient past would come to him if he sought the truth wholeheartedly, and he prayed to Prince Toneri for such enlightenment.

Yoshida Kanetomo (吉田兼俱, 1435–1511) suggested in his *Fujimori yashiro engi* (藤森社縁起) that this shrine venerated Emperor Sudō (750-785),²⁶ but Ansai insisted on celebrating Toneri's accomplishments and asserting that the Fujimori shrine was dedicated to him, as seen in his 1672 *Fujimori kyūhyō seishoki* (藤森弓兵政所記). In this text, Ansai praises Toneri in particular for not discarding alternative versions of mythology and simplifying the divine age narrative.

However, for explanations of the ancient period, there are details and there are simplifications, there are congruencies and there are discrepancies. Toneri widely collected these and included them in his record, for he did not dare to discard them. This is the epitome of respect. In the case of Prince Shōtoku and Soga no Umako's *Sendai kuji hongi* and Yasumaro's *Kojiki*, events are all ordered into a single decisive narrative. For this reason, Toneri's record is a master work for 10,000 ages. Within the records of this text, the remaining words and remaining deeds of the divine age appear in the spaces and can be seen in the spaces [between variants].²⁷

Nishioka notes that Ansai in particular emphasized the two “divine proclamations” of Amaterasu.²⁸ Both of these are only found in the variant texts of *Nihon shoki*. In other words, because Toneri did not follow the same editing logic used in *Kojiki* or *Sendai kuji hongi*, these proclamations survive and Shinto could persist throughout the ages. Further, this reflects that Ansai took *Nihon shoki* to be the most valuable of the “three books” of Shinto proposed by Kanetomo. This also reflects the veneration of Prince Toneri in the Suika tradition, which was

²⁶ *Fujimori yashiro engi*, in *Gunsho ruijū dai ni hen*, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi (Zoku gunshoruijū kanseikai, 1959), 279.

²⁷ *Fūyōshū shukan*, in *Shintō taikē ronsetsu hen 12 suika shintō 1*, ed. Kondō Keigo (Shintō taikē hensankai, 1984), 325.

²⁸ Nishioka, 109.

inherited from the Yoshida tradition but advanced by Ansai.²⁹ The importance of Toneri and the Fujimori shrine stems largely from Ansai's belief that if he were to devote his heart to understanding them, knowledge of the arcane divine age volumes would be revealed to him, perhaps by Toneri himself. Ansai's words are mirrored in Inbe no Masamichi's (忌部正通, ??-??) *Jindai kuketsu* (神代卷口訣, 1367), which itself emphasizes mastery of the words of the ancients. These words are simple compared to the present, it claims, but sacred, and this emphasis is reflected in Ansai's methodological approach.

Nativist scholarship will be discussed later in the chapter, but one distinction is important to make here. Speaking generally, nativists approached mastery of ancient language by studying the Japanese vernacular directly, for example in the *Man'yōshū*. Conversely, Ansai began his search first with Zhu Xi's commentary on the *Book of Songs*, the *Ganxingshi* (感興詩), and Ansai wrote his own commentary *Kankō kōchū* (感興詩註) one year before writing *Yamato kagami* and visiting the Fujimori shrine. Hence, Zhu Xi's attempt to grasp the spirit of the ancients in China was Ansai's own jumping-off point for his similar work on Japan.

Ansai's emphasis on language and the particularities of *Nihon shoki* are revealed in the opening to his commentary on the text, *Fūyōshū* (風葉集). In the first volume, discussing the nature of the *Nihon shoki* itself, he writes:

The three key texts are the *Sendai kuji ki*, the *Kojiki*, and the *Nihon shoki*. Before these were compiled, there was the *Sendai kuji hongi* in ten volumes, compiled by Prince Shōtoku and Soga no Umako in the reign of the 32nd human emperor, Yōmei. The three volumes of the *Kojiki* were compiled by Ō no Yasumaro in the reign of the 43rd human emperor, Genmei. The two books *Kujiki* and *Kojiki* add their own ideas to the meaning of the words of the gods. For this book [*Nihon shoki*], the compilers listened and collected

²⁹ See Kondō Yoshihiro, "Kinsei shintō shi to Toneri shin'ō no kaiko," *Kokugakuin zasshi* 60-8 (1959) and "Toneri shin'ō o matsu," *Kokugakuin zasshi* 60-10 (1959).

[many accounts] to compile it, and did not dare to add a single meaning. For this reason, even though it was compiled later, this work is the greatest [of the three].³⁰

This concept is applied more concretely in the volume appended to the beginning of the text.

Ansai cites two texts of uncertain provenance, the *Munishō* (無二抄) and the *Jikishishō* (直指抄), to assert that the *Nihon shoki* itself is the words of the gods.

The *Munishō* says, first rank Prince Toneri and fourth rank junior Ō no Yasumaro compiled the *Nihon shoki* in accordance with an imperial order. Prior to the this, there were the *Sendai kuji hongī* and the *Kojiki*, but in accordance with the aim of the divine age volumes of these texts, the words of the compilers were added and they were created anew. Further, they have prefaces and the names of the authors are included. The *Nihon shoki* does not change the divine words of the divine age even a bit, and only collects them as they were and puts them together. There is no preface and no names of authors. It is not an original creation by the compilers...

The *Jikishishō* says...the things in this work are each and every the words of the gods, and not words that were created by man.³¹

Ansai opens by citing Kanetomo, noting that the *Sendai kuji hongī* and the *Kojiki* “added words from the editors,” while the *Nihon shoki* “expresses only the words of the gods (神語).” These “words of the gods” express the spirit of the gods and sages (神聖) and therefore convey universal concepts, which dovetails with Ansai’s own study of Zhu Xi. This same conception is further seen in Ansai’s cosmological analysis, which understands the *Nihon shoki* in terms of five phases metaphysics.

Ansai placed the highest emphasis on understanding the Japanese language itself, which he believed existed from the age of the gods and mastery of which should be the first thing done in order to read divine texts. He includes a chart of the fifty sounds of the Japanese language, and asserts that they existed since the divine age. For Ansai, it is not important that *Nihon shoki* itself is written in Literary Sinitic, as “there is nothing that cannot be converted to Japanese reading,”

³⁰ *Fūyōshū*, in *Shintō taikē ronsetsu hen 12 suika shintō 1*, ed. Kondō Keigo (Shintō taikē hensankai, 1984), 168.

³¹ *Fūyōshū shukan*, in *Shintō taikē ronsetsu hen 12 suika shintō 1*, ed. Kondō Keigo (Shintō taikē hensankai, 1984), 327.

and further, he asserts that “for study of the divine texts, first these [Japanese sounds] must be mastered.”³²

Another important component of Ansai’s cosmology is the division of how gods came into existence into four types, which he again based on five phases philosophy.

The old man [Ansai] said, there are four ways of the gods, generative coming into being, spiritual coming into being, corporeal coming into being, and coming into being through mind. The generative and mind do not have form, and the spiritual and corporeal have bodily form. This is known from studying these divine age volumes.³³

The first are gods that generatively come into being (造化), which applies to Kunitokotachi through Izanaki and Izanami, the seven generations of gods. These gods came into being through the vicissitudes of yin and yang, and Kunitokotachi (which Ansai equates with Amenominakanushi) is treated as the formless progenitor responsible for all other creation. Gods of natural phenomena such as the five phases also fall into the generative category. Izanaki and Izanami are slightly different in that they simultaneously are generated by spirit (気化), Ansai’s second category. These gods have form based on the movement of spirit. As generative gods, they gave birth to the islands, rivers, etc., but as spirit gods, they came together as man and woman to give birth to Amaterasu and humans. This principle is imagined as “the one way of heaven and man” (天人唯一之道), a universal principle derived from the divine-age volumes of *Nihon shoki*.³⁴ The third category are corporeally generated (身化), which is to say gods and humans generated by male-female relations. The final type are generated by mind (心化), which come into being either through non-sexual relations, for example the gods produced by Susano-o

³² Ibid., 330.

³³ *Fūyōshū shukan*, 328.

³⁴ Ibid.

and Amaterasu during their standoff, or by a singular god, such as those produced when Izanaki bathed himself after escaping from Yomi.

In terms of practical religious application, the most important issue in Ansai's school of Suika Shinto was the incorporation of mythology surrounding Izumo. As relayed to his disciple Asami Keisai (浅見綱斎, 1652-1712),

As for the things that one realizes are truly exceptional in Shinto, there is none on the same level as this. It is subtle. The most important Shinto things are various and scattered about, but all are subsumed firmly in Susano-o and Ōnamochi. Susano-o and Ōnamochi are both gods of high capability. Susano-o once had a black heart, and Ōnamochi was not loyal. But in the end Susano-o renewed his morality (徳義) and submitted to the morality of the body of the Sun Goddess. Ōnamochi was the same for a long time, and in this section submitted to this kind of morality[...] These two gods firmly subsume all the important things in Shinto.³⁵

Here, Ansai is discussing the scene of Susano-o's expiation, when his hair and nails are removed and he is fined one thousand tables, and the scene when Ōkuninushi finishes creating the world and encounters a divine light from the sea. In this episode, the god asks who this light is, and it replies that it is his *sakimitama* (幸魂) and *kushimitama* (奇魂). Ōkuninushi suddenly realizes that this light is these two components of himself, then asks them where they wish to dwell, to which they reply at Mt. Mimoro in present-day Nara prefecture.³⁶ In Ansai's reading, the exchange is actually between Ōkuninushi and himself,³⁷ which means that the two *mitama* are the type of god generated by mind, and their "dwelling" is within Ōkuninushi's body; this follows an equation of Mt. Mimoro (三諸) with "mi muro" (身室), literally "body chamber." This formulation has two critical components in everyday practice.

³⁵ *Jindai maki suika okina kōgi*, in *Shinto taikai ronsetsu hen 12*, ed. Shintō taikai hensan kai (Shinto taikai hensan kai, 1984), 361.

³⁶ *Nihon shoki 1*, ed. Sakamoto Tarō, Ienaga Saburō, Inoue Mitsusada, Ōno Susumu (Iwanami 1994), 106.

³⁷ "Here this is entirely self-question self-answer." *Jindai maki suika okina kōgi*, 359.

The first is that the experience Ōkuninushi has questioning his *mitama* and recognizing that they are his heart is a teachable moment for all humans, within whom these *mitama* dwell but lie unrealized. Like Susano-o and Ōkuninushi, we can activate these spirits, but to do so must undergo purification by the gods.

The mountain of Mimoro is not without. It is this body. In this body, these strange mind gods of light most certainly dwell. There is a secret poem in the Yoshida tradition:

If you go in the <i>torii</i>	<i>kami no masu</i>
where the gods dwell,	<i>torii ni ireba</i>
from this body	<i>kono mi yori</i>
it will dwell peacefully	<i>hitsuki no miya to</i>
in the shrine of the sun and moon.	<i>yasuraka ni sumu</i>

[...] First, where the gods dwell is, whether Mimoro or Kitano, in shrines to the gods. You go in the *torii* for this shrine of the gods. Then this body becomes completely that of a god. So your body and mind should be pure. The three books [*Sendai kuji hongu*, *Kojiki*, and *Nihon shoki*] say that the gods cannot dwell in a filthy body. The gods cannot dwell in the filthy bodies and minds of everyday people, but if you go inside of a *torii*, your body and mind will be purified.³⁸

According to Ansai, Ōkuninushi's conversation with himself was a moment when "certainly he became aware that the gods of mind dwelt within his own body."³⁹ This self-realization, combined with the purification experienced on entering a shrine discussed above, allows the bodies of normal humans to become realized as a dwelling place for the gods.

The second issue deals with the protection of the emperor. According to variant 2 of section 9 of *Nihon shoki*, after Ōnamochi abdicated his position as ruler of the central reed plain country to the heavenly descendant, he says he will rule the spirit realm then "covered his body

³⁸ Ibid, 360-361.

³⁹ Ibid., 359.

with the Yasaka jewels and vanished forever.”⁴⁰ Ansai interprets the Yasaka jewels as the *mitama* and the body as their dwelling place (*mimoro*).⁴¹ Ansai continues,

Regarding the thoughts of the god, he said that from now on he would fixedly conceal his body and rule the concealed things, so his body would be completely withdrawn and he would fixedly form the unknowable consideration (冥慮) of his mind and body, which would exist in observation and contemplation, and with this consideration he would rule and make tranquil the state. Thereby, from the living world using the unknowable consideration of his mind and body he will protect the state, that is to say his mind and body are transferred into the living world and dwell at Mt. Mimoro. Because of this, being concealed his spirit is a spirit that is precisely the union of life and death. From the time that he concealed himself until now, as a mind and body in the living world he is a spiritual sign (靈驗) that protects the realm.⁴²

Putting this together with the idea that these *mitama* exist in all humans renders a model suggesting that by recognizing and cultivating the gods within ourselves we also protect the state. This is the epitome of the way of the gods for Ansai, and the final form of “the unity of heaven and man” (天人唯一), a principle identified at the beginning of creation for acting in accordance with the instructions of the gods.⁴³

Ansai’s most notable disciples continued his legacy, namely Shibukawa Harumi (渋川春海, 1639-1715), an astronomer who undertook the first serious study of the *Nihon shoki* calendric system. The issues surrounding the *Nihon shoki* calendar will be raised in detail in the following chapter. The first complete commentary of the *Nihon shoki*, *Umasake kōki* (味酒講記, 1710) was produced by another disciple, Ōyama Tameoki (大山為起, 1651-1713). This was followed by a more thorough commentary, in the fourth-generation of the Suika lineage, by Tanikawa Kotosuga (谷川士清, 1709-1776), the *Nihon shoki tsūshō* (日本書紀通証, 1748). The

⁴⁰ *Nihon shoki* 1, 138.

⁴¹ *Jindai maki suika okina kōgi*, 367.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 367.

⁴³ See *Suika okina shinsetsu*, in *Shintō taiki ronsetsu* 12 (*Shintō taiki hensan kai*, 1984), 381.

significance of these two commentaries is first that they cover the entirety of *Nihon shoki*, not just the divine volumes, and second, that they include much of the esoteric material passed down within the Suika school or derived from medieval sources like the *Sanso*. This component of oral transmission and widespread inclusion would be one of the most important departure points for *Nihon shoki* scholarship that followed. For example, in the explication of section one of the main variant of the text, Tanikawa cites Inbe no Masamichi (author of the *Kuketsu*, Zhuang zi, Kaneyoshi (author of the *Sanso*), Kitabatake Chikafusa, Zhu Xi, and others; these thinkers do not really agree with each other but Tanikawa includes them all nonetheless; a concrete example is given in the following section. This uncritical approach towards source materials is not completely consistent, for example, Kotosuga argues that Prince Toneri was the principal compiler of *Nihon shoki* and disputes whether Yasumaro was involved, casting aspersion on the accounts in the *Kōnin shiki*, *Kuketsu*, and *Sanso*.⁴⁴ However, the critical nature of this entry is uncharacteristic of *Tsūshō*, which tends more towards a comprehensive citation of materials from medieval commentaries and Ansai's oral transmissions than an attempt to evaluate their appropriateness or relevance to exegesis of the passage in question.

The Kawamura School

In his *Jindaiki uzu no yamakage* (神代紀髻華山蔭, 1798), Motoori Norinaga (本居宣長, 1730–1801) contrasts the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* using the metaphor of a portrait, with the *Kojiki* trying to capture the true visage of the subject and the *Nihon shoki* done in accordance with the prevailing styles of the era. Hence, the *Nihon shoki* was “like the face of a Chinese

⁴⁴ *Nihon shoki tsūshō I* (Rinsen shoten, 1978), 23.

person,” “adorned with Chinese writings and Chinese ideas.”⁴⁵ Norinaga’s approach to these two texts will be discussed in detail later in the chapter, but his analogy reflects two approaches to reading the *Nihon shoki* the early modern period. Norinaga would rely heavily on *Kojiki* and try to strip the perceived Chinese elements out of *Nihon shoki*. Conversely, the father and son pair of Kawamura Hidene (河村秀根, 1723-1792) and Masune (河村益根, 1756-1819) would try to identify and document each reference or citation of a Chinese text. Interestingly, both Norinaga and Hidene also framed their approaches in contrast to Suika Shinto.⁴⁶ Hidene writes,

Regarding the unity of heaven and man (天人唯一), this means that heaven / earth and mankind are entirely the same. Using “creation” (造化) it refers to humans and things, and using things it explains creation. Is this not the way of the unity of heaven and man it asks? This is absolutely conjecture from the current era, and a forced analogy in imitation of the “heaven man one principle” (天人一理) explanation in the Neo-Confucianism of the Song. Using the phrase “emperor way unity” (帝道唯一) in the Kōtoku volume it finds the origin of the unity of heaven and man. While the characters are the same, the meaning is vastly different, and this is not sufficient for proof.⁴⁷

Hidene lodges two complaints; first, Ansai’s style of reading is based on a type of conjecture common to their era (近世の憶説), and second, that it is rooted in Song Confucian metaphysics that do not necessarily correspond with the material in the original text (even if some characters are held in common). Norinaga would claim similarly, “In that Suika, the clouds and fog of Chinese meanings increase all the more, and it enters deeply into it, like being in the dark of night.”⁴⁸ For both Hidene and Norinaga, rejecting the forced association with Chinese meanings was characteristic of their philological approach. Masune says more forcefully,

⁴⁵ *Jindaiki uzu no yamakage*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* 6, ed. Ōkubo Tadashi (Chikuma shobō, 1970), 517-518.

⁴⁶ Maeda Tsutomu, “Shoki shikkai to Motoori Norinaga no Nihongi kenkyū,” *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 64-5 (1999), 117.

⁴⁷ *Jingakuben*, in *Shoki shikkai* 5, ed. Kojima Noriyuki (Rinsen shoten, 1969), 31-32.

⁴⁸ *Tenso tojō benben*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* 8, ed. Ōkubo Tadashi (Chikuma shobō, 1972), 4.

Study of the gods and Shinto now stubbornly clings to old habits. Few masters deeply bear this in mind in their academic study. The various schools of Shinto study roughly that things are as a matter of course, and that the deeper meanings of oral transmissions can be generally transmitted. Calling them deep secrets like the “shrine stone barrier” (神籬磐境) or the “Sumiyoshi transmission” (住吉伝), all are made up decorations on the fringes with no use value, and therefore they do not deeply penetrate [the matter]. If one enters deeply into study of the classics, this principle becomes clearly distinguished all on its own.⁴⁹

The “shrine stone barrier” Masune refers to is a fundamental tenet of Suika Shinto that asserts that anyone can become a protector-god of the emperor, one of the conclusions Ansai reached in his analysis of the divine age. Masune’s criticism specifically notes the use of oral transmissions that carry hidden or esoteric teachings and were a staple in Yoshida and Suika Shinto traditions as well as many other medieval Japanese religious schools. While their academic projects differed, this de-mystification is an important characteristic of the study of ancient texts in early-modern Japan, whether in Norinaga or the Kawamura tradition.

Hidene and Masune’s most significant contribution to study of *Nihon shoki* was the *Shoki shikkai* (書紀集解, also called *Shoki shūge*, 1785-1805), a full commentary on the text in 32 volumes, with a preface from 1785. The introduction (総論) to the text is divided into eight theories: the name of the country, connections to the name of the country, the author of the text, the name of the text, a theory on its assembler, the *kun* readings, its manuscripts, and its commentary. The commentarial approach of the text is most easily grasped by examining its development over the course of Hidene’s life and the numerous texts he produced that preceded it. The first of these was the *Nihon sho shuzai* (日本書聚財), written in 1748; he wrote *Jingakuben*, cited above, with Hideaki, in the same year. Regarding study of the classics, he writes:

⁴⁹ *Kitengaku ni kan suru bunsho*, in *Shoki shikkai*, ed. Kojima Noriyuki (Rinsen shoten, 1969), 135.

In writings there is past and present and truth and lies; readers should not fail to distinguish these. The most important in this regard are the national histories and the Civil and Penal Codes (律令格式), and after these it is the old official records produced by major houses. When initiating study, one must be careful not to forget the national histories and house records and not to believe false books and erroneous compilations... There was a time that I was bewitched by oral transmissions, but by diligently reviewing the official histories and classic texts, at last I became aware of the wrong things and my doubts were dispelled.⁵⁰

This statement closely mirrors a statement by Yoshimi Yukikazu (吉見幸和, 1673-1761), who attributes the same to his teacher Ōgimachi Kinmichi (正親町公通, 1653-1733).

The era has already become degenerate. Shinto factions have each built their own school and proceed as if there were one method; this is not Shinto, it is heresy and falling into a minor road (道). Shinto is the great way (道) of the realm and the way that the emperor governs the eight-island country. This is what is called the way... If you wish to understand this in detail, diligently review the Civil and Penal codes and national histories and official records, broadly study the correct way, and do not believe the false errors of various books. Departing from these false errors should be one's most pressing duty.⁵¹

Hidene had begun studying with Yukikazu four years earlier, in 1744; Kinmichi began study with Ansai in 1680 and inherited the school after Ansai's death two years later, hence the concerns of Yoshikazu and of Hidene rose to some degree directly from the Suika tradition. They would end up opposing this same tradition. For example, Hidene's interpretation in *Nihon sho shuzai* of Yamato Takeru changing into a white bird after his death directly criticizes the Suika theologian Tomobe Yasutaka (伴部安崇, 1668-1740), who supposed that this episode was an explanation of souls rising to heaven.

A similar issue is raised *Nihon shoki senja ben* (1747). As noted above, Ansai himself depicted his own experience at the Fujimori shrine where Prince Toneri is venerated as the taking-off point for his study of the *Nihon shoki*. Conversely, *Nihon shoki senja ben*, written

⁵⁰ *Jingakuben*, 32, 39.

⁵¹ *Zōeki ben boku shō zokkai*, held at Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan, 43-3, page 2.

early in Hidene's career, only three years after he began studying with Yukikazu, and coauthored with his older brother Hidekai (河村秀穎, 1718-1783, also 秀興), roundly rejects the idea that Prince Toneri was the primary author behind *Nihon shoki*'s compilation. Instead it notes that the *Shoku Nihongi* claims that Ki no Kiyohito (紀清人, ??-753) and Miyake no Fujimaro (三宅藤麻呂, ??-??) were ordered to revise the national history in Wadō 7 (714).⁵² The claim is expanded in section 3 of the *Shoki shikkai* introduction, which discusses the compilation of the text. There, the compilation of the first twenty-eight volumes, from the divine age to Tenmu 2 (674), is assigned to Nakatomi no Ōshima (中臣大島, ??-693), Heguri no Ko'obito (平群子首, ??-??), et. al., and the final two volumes to Kiyohito, Fujimaro, et. al. Toneri is then credited with putting everything together into the final thirty-volume form.⁵³ This reflects that the commentarial standpoint of the *Shoki shikkai* should be taken as a process beginning early in Hidene and Hideaki's lives, when they studied under Yukikazu and Tada Yoshitoshi (多田義俊, 1698-1750) and reaching full maturity in the *Shoki shikkai*.

Seventeen years after writing the *Nihon sho shuzai*, Hidene returned to *Nihon shoki* commentary in 1765, when he began the *Nihon shoki shikkai* (日本書紀集解), to be distinguished from the later *Shoki shikkai*. By and large, this text is a massive collection of citations without any strong editorial element, and as will be illustrated later, widely cited medieval commentaries and the *Nihon shoki tsūshō*, the exact types of materials that relied on “oral transmissions” and were of questionable relevance that Hidene had criticized in his youth. The lack of a critical assessment of sources is seen, for example, in the comment for “Kamu yamato iwarehiko sumera mikoto” (Emperor Jinmu):

⁵² *Nihon shoki senja ben*, in *Shoki shikkai* 5, ed. Kojima Noriyuki (Rinsen shoten, 1969), 23-24.

⁵³ *Shoki shikkai* 2 (Rinsen shoten, 1969), 15.

The *Mo shio gusa* (藻塩草) says, “kamu” is a word referring to reverence, for example “Kamu Susano-o no mikoto” or “Kamu Takami musuhi no mikoto.” “Yamato” refers to the province of Yamato in the *kinai* region. This would end up being the land of the imperial capital of the descendants of Amaterasu Ōhirume no mikoto, at the center of land of Dainihon Toyoakitsushima. “Iware” is the name of a village in Yamato. The detailed meaning of the name is seen in the *Nihon shoki*. “Hiko” is a type of name of the sun meaning that the Emperor unifies all of the heavens and is called our great king. He was bestowed this name because he raised an army in Iware in Yamato and restored the old capital of the sun god. When he was young he was called Sano no mikoto, this is from the Divine Age volumes.⁵⁴

The *Mo shio gusa* refers to the *Jindai no maki mo shio gusa* (神代巻藻塩草), by Tamaki Masahide (玉木正英, 1671-1736), a Suika scholar who studied alongside Kinmichi. Comparison of the above with Tanikawa’s *Tsūshō* illustrates its relative lack of criticism. Tanikawa writes,

Old man Tamaki [Masahide] says, “Kamu” is a appellation of reverence, for example “Kamu Susano-o no mikoto no kami.” “Yamato” is Dainihon Toyoakitsuhshima. “Iware” is the name of a village. It is seen in detail in the lower volume [of the divine age]. “Hiko” is a name for a descendant of the sun. He created a divine military “Jinmu” in Iware and thereby restored the old capital of the sun god...⁵⁵

Aside from adding some clarifying detail, Hidene is basically parroting the same entry from the *Tsūshō*.

Abe claims that at the same time, the vast array of materials that Hidene incorporates, including the *Shaku Nihongi*, *Yamato hime no mikoto seiki*, Kaneyoshi’s *Nihon shoki sanso*, the *Jindai kuketsu*, and the *Tsūshō*, as well as perspectives by Keichū, Razan, and Hakuseki, is evidence of his deep ambivalence on how to read the *Nihon shoki*.⁵⁶ This is because there is no unifying commentarial perspective in the *Nihon shoki shikkai*; in some places Hidene omits the metaphysical components of medieval commentaries, in others he includes them, and in still

⁵⁴ Abe Akio, *Shoki shikkai 1 kaidai* (Rinsen shoten, 1969), 152.

⁵⁵ *Nihon shoki tsūshō 2* (Rinsen shoten, 1978), 717.

⁵⁶ Abe, *Shoki shikkai 1*, 152-153.

more he relies on the *Tsūshō*. The other early modern works he uses are incommensurate with each other, the *Tsūshō*, and the medieval commentary. Perhaps Hidene set out originally to simply make a giant compendium of *Nihon shoki* commentaries like Kigin's *Kogetsushō*; Abe believes that Hidene's aims actually changed while he put the work together.⁵⁷ At any rate, it is likely Hidene realized that *Nihon shoki shikkai* failed to fulfill the original complaints noted above that he had expressed nearly twenty years earlier.

This diverges from the commentarial tenor of *Shoki shikkai*, published over twenty years beginning in 1785. For example, the note given for “resolute,” (意確如也) describing Emperor Jinmu's character is interpreted as below in *Nihon shoki shikkai*.

“Resolute.” The *Shaku Nihongi*, in volume nine, definition five, gives the reading of this as “katakuri tsuyoshi” (firm and strong). The *Kōnin shiki* says “resolute” means having a broad mindset and firm disposition. The *Yamato hime no mikoto seiki kōjutsu shō* says that “resolute” is “firm.” The *Classic of Changes* says “resolute” means not being able to be pulled out. The *Notes* say that “resolute” means military virtue. The *Mo shio gusa* says resolute means firm and hard. This refers to the spirit of metal (金氣). It is present in the virtue of the august pillar, which upon being erected cannot be uprooted. The *Tsūshō* says this is read “mi kokoro tsuyoku katashi” (his heart was strong and hard). This appellation is the spirit of metal. In the dictionary “resolute” means “hard,” “firm.” In the *Saiikiki* (西域記) the character “resolute” is always rendered “確.” In the record of Gaozu of Han it has “wide disposition” (意豁).⁵⁸

As mentioned above, the *Nihon shoki shikkai* functions more as an exhaustive compendium than critical commentary, and it frequently sacrifices or suspends judgment of relevance in the name of exhaustiveness. In the excerpt here, the slow march further and further afield in medieval *Nihon shoki* commentary is on full display, with metaphysical ideas of the five phases worming their way into the interpretation and serving as a jumping-off point for making further analogies. The Chinese texts mentioned are also part of the citation from the *Tsūshō*.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 154.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 160.

The same four-character phrase (意確如也) is given as follows in *Shoki shikkai*.

In the *Zhuang zi*, in the chapter “Responses for Emperors and Kings” [C. 7] it has “the certain (確) way [to deal with] those things.” Guo Xiang (郭象, third century CE?) says “resolute” means a hard appearance (堅貌). The *Shaku* says that in the *Kōnin shiki* it says that “resolute” means having a broad mindset and firm disposition.⁵⁹

Shoki shikkai has cut out all of the extraneous information, reducing the entry to one reference from a Chinese text and one from the *Shaku Nihongi*. Maeda Tsutomu notes the same phenomenon as Abe; the reference for “emperor” 天皇 in the *Nihon shoki shikkai* cites ten different sources, but *Shoki shikkai* reduces this to two, Sima Zhen’s (司馬貞, 679-732) addendum to the *Shiji* and the *Book of Jin*.⁶⁰ The *Tsūshō* is cited for the Jinmu volume only twelve times in *Shoki shikkai*, in Abe’s words the *Tsūshō* is “basically ignored.”⁶¹ Further, this is to some degree likely due to Masune’s involvement with the work rather than solely a transformation on the part of Hidene.

One of the most striking features of *Shoki shikkai* is that it does not discuss the *kun* readings; for example in the selection above there is no explanation of how 意確如也 is supposed to be read in the vernacular, only discussion of its meaning.

The words and phrases of the *Shoki* amend ancient words and phrases. Some are taken from Buddhist texts (内典), and others are from secular works. While it is not possible to completely cite the rich words and grand records,⁶² this is not a casual reading. It first studies the works cited. If the reading is unclear, it searches widely for the meaning in order to aid what is covered up. This was my intention. Generally the books that are cited are from after the *Nihon shoki*; these citations are frequently seen. As for completely listing the editor’s names, this is in order to make them clear to the reader.⁶³

⁵⁹ *Shoki shikkai* 2, ed. Kojima Noriyuki (Rinsen shoten, 1969), 254.

⁶⁰ Maeda, “Shoki shikkai,” 119-120.

⁶¹ Abe, *Shoki shikkai* 1, 161.

⁶² 豊文茂記. The latter could alternatively be translated “lush records;” here the translation follows the meaning used in the *Wen xuan* of 茂典 (grand records).

⁶³ *Shoki shikkai* 2, 22.

Abe suggests that the “ancient words and phrases” here reflects a lack of faith in the traditional *kundoku* of *Nihon shoki*.⁶⁴ As discussed in the previous chapters, these traditional readings all post-date *Nihon shoki* significantly and were a frequent cite of contestation and revision. As noted earlier, Hidene had some ambivalence about the usefulness of medieval commentaries, which, beginning with *Shaku Nihongi* (or even the Heian lectures) made deciphering the correct *kun* reading of the text their primary inquiry. Hidene himself is clearly conflicted on this point; as noted above, he was skeptical of the metaphysics found in medieval commentaries, but ended up citing them extensively in *Nihon shoki shikkai* all the same. He also seems to accept medieval reading techniques for poetry uncritically, the turning point for Keichū’s revision of the *Man’yōshū* and beginning of early modern nativism. Hidene writes in *Kitengaku ni kan suru bunsho*,

In the world there are many masters of *waka* who write freely in confusion; eight or nine in ten are like this. In the medieval period houses were solidified into the Nijō and Reizei schools, however, the Nijō and Reizei were originally the same. The school that has correctly transmitted and received the written materials passed down is the Reizei.⁶⁵

As Abe notes in his assessment of the *Nihon shoki shikkai*, Hidene also began to rely extensively on the idea of a *Kana nihongi* for interpreting the *Nihon shoki* during the process of compiling *Nihon shoki shikkai*.⁶⁶ Combined with the above, this paints Hidene’s approach to commentary as paradoxical; on the one hand, he held deep misgivings about medieval commentaries from his youth, the *Shoki shikkai* being the eventual fruit of this approach. On the other, even while composing *Nihon shoki shikkai*, he was never really able to move past the traditional *kun* readings.

⁶⁴ Abe, *Shoki shikkai* 1, 169-170.

⁶⁵ *Kitengaku ni kan suru bunsho*, 138.

⁶⁶ Abe, *Shoki shikkai* 1, 68-70.

As seen in the citation above, the *Shoki shikkai* does not devote space to discussing the traditional *kun* readings of the *Nihon shoki*, although it does provide them in the text. Most of these do not revise earlier readings. Keeping Hidene's ambivalent stance, and his idea of "old words," in mind, the *Shoki shikkai*'s approach to the *kun* readings is suggested obliquely in section six of the preface.

I surmise, in the *Shaku Nihongi* introductory explication, it says that originally there was a *Kana ki* [*Kana nihongi*] and that its writer was unclear. In the Gangyō explanations, this is used to read the *Shoki* and notes come from it. It also says that the *Kana ki* predates the *Shoki*. Of these two explanations, it is unknown which is an original note that says that whatever character is read however or that this resembles something predating the *Shoki* and that this book transmits this reading. Next to the characters are noted names, called "kun," and the majority of these are the glosses from the *shiki* of the seven courts (when readings were held). Among these glosses, some omit what comes before, and some omit what comes after, the relative importance is not uniform, and they mix together with later additions; it is like a lush patch of assorted weeds, a mix of motley fragrances. Now correcting the things that cannot be read and because of the excess from the past have not been revised and distinguished will be notated in a volume called "Shaku kun," and not commentated on here.⁶⁷

The issues related to the authenticity of the *Kana nihongi* are inherited from Hidene's earlier study, but in any case, it is clear that in *Shoki shikkai*, the commentarial process would begin with the base text and not place weight on the *kun* readings. It is not certain if the "Shaku kun" volume that is proposed here was ever compiled, but its exclusion from the main text of *Shoki shikkai* reflects the priority being given to the *kanbun* original. Hidene's earlier ambivalence about distinguishing the content of the original from later revisions, clear in the above, resulted in his seeming abandonment of the sorting out the correct *kun* readings altogether. This is the greatest innovation in *Shoki shikkai* in comparison with earlier materials, whether from the Heian lectures, medieval commentary, or Suika tradition. *Shoki shikkai* would simply read the *kanbun* as *kanbun* and, to the greatest degree possible, clarify the meaning of the words on the page and

⁶⁷ *Shoki shikkai* 2, 16-17.

any links they had to other works, including those from China. This would include identification of ancient customs; that the “ancient words” of the *Nihon shoki* could be instructive in delineating the world of the ancient Japanese regardless of the fact that they are rendered in *kanbun* will be an important distinction revisited below in discussing nativism.

Hidene’s long-held ambivalence about the authenticity of the *kun* readings suggests that their retreat into the background in *Shoki shikkai* was also related to Masune’s involvement with the project. As Masune would state in *Gudan* (偶談),

Japanese writings (yamato fumi) are not read using the *on* but the *kun*. Giving the *kana* alongside (*kana oroshi*) the main text might be from printing. Old manuscripts of the *Nihon shoki*, *Shoku Nihongi*, *Montoku jitsuroku*, *Sandai jitsuroku*, *Kojiki*, and *Man’yōshū* all do not have *kana* alongside. The notes of the *Nihon shoki* saying “this is read like etc.” This may be from the *Yōrō shiki*. When earlier individuals wrote commentaries they ignored this issue and did not erase them. The *Shiki* that are now transmitted have *kana* notes below the text; how was this notated in the ancient period? The *Kojiki* did not have *kana* attached either; I see this as something from a later period.⁶⁸

It is not possible to know for certain if this sentiment belonged to Hidene or not, but Abe suggests that while Hidene regarded the traditional *Nihon shoki kun* readings as problematic, he would not go so far as to deny the readings that are actually in the text itself as seen here.⁶⁹

Elsewhere Masune would suggest a hard division between sinograph and word when reading classical texts.

In the notes to the Confucian classics, in Kong Yingda⁷⁰ (孔穎達, 574-648) it has “Notes (詁): In past and present, words were different, and by using these people are made⁷¹ to know.” *Kun* explication using the meaning of the characters poorly and placing the principles first is Song Confucianism. All the more so that if the word and the character are different, if you do the *kun* explication poorly, there will be many errors. If you wrongly render the character imprecisely and in accordance with some principle, it is

⁶⁸ *Gudan*, in *Shoki shikkai*, ed. Kojima Noriyuki (Rinsen shoten, 1969), 154.

⁶⁹ Abe, *Shoki shikkai*, 174.

⁷⁰ Kong’s *Wujing Zhengyi* is the orthodox explication of the Five Classics.

⁷¹ Masune gives “便” to Kong’s “使;” Kong’s reading is used here.

difficult to get through the ancient books, and even if the phrasing is excellent, the [*kun*] characters will be incorrectly appended.⁷²

Presumably, the criticism Masune levels at Song Confucians for favoring an overriding principle in textual interpretation rather than closely reading the base text applies to *Nihon shoki* commentary as well. Elsewhere, speaking on the volumes of commentary on the Confucian classics, Masune would write that “these excessive commentarial explanations are the interpretations of individual people, and if you are rigid you cannot understand my meaning: enlightenment incorporates this opinion.”⁷³ Masune’s rejection of Song Confucian commentarial methods suggest that his involvement in *Shoki shikkai* was significant in the transition away from the commentarial methods of *Nihon shoki shikkai*.

Masune’s idea that no comprehensive principle should determine the meaning of the text does not except this work from containing one. As made clear in the introduction, the text is deeply connected with a particular vision of kingship and the state.

I searched the *Shoki*, and thereby arrived at the essence of the state (国体). The way of lord and vassal (君民道) is clear, and I learned the oneness of the imperial line. The intentions of rebellious vassals and crazy men to hatch contrived plots and usurp positions did not exist.⁷⁴

The “way of lord and vassal” appears in a statement by Yukikazu, Masune’s teacher, to another of his disciples, Fujitsuka Tomoaki (藤塚知直, 1737-1799).

Shinto is the way of the emperor of our country, and must be respected. Since the creation of the world the way by which the divine sage governs the country and the majestic way of lord and vassal, the proper method of ruling the state and venerating the gods, and thinking on the truth by way of the national histories and official documents is the highest priority of national learning.⁷⁵

⁷² *Gudan*, 152.

⁷³ *Kajukuroku*, in *Shoki shikkai furoku*, ed. Kojima Noriyuki (Rinsen shoten, 1969), 129.

⁷⁴ *Shoki shikkai* 2, 2-3.

⁷⁵ *Kyōken sensei shokaiki*, in *Kinsei shintō: ron zenki kokugaku*, *Nihon shisō taikai* 39, ed. Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio (Iwanami, 1972), 236.

This search, as it is presented above in the *Shoki shikkai* preface, is for the way of the gods as Yukikazu imagines it, and for the nature of imperial authority. Criticism of this idea as represented in Suika, which imagined it as part of creation (造化) itself, was discussed above; in the citation immediately above Yukikazu also continues to criticize the methodologies of medieval commentaries. In the *Shoki shikkai*, the creation of the world as written in *Nihon shoki* is made to be the same as the rest of the world. The opening's use of *Huai nan zi* and *San wu li ji* (三五曆記) is made explicit, and a number of other continental sources such as the *Wen xuan* are used to explicate the separation of yin and yang. Conversely, the second part of the creation story in the main narrative of *Nihon shoki*, which states that the land floated on the surface of the water like a fish, is interpreted as being some kind of oral tradition passed down from antiquity. This allows *Shoki shikkai* to prioritize the creation story that is shared with Chinese texts and relegate the rest to being a relic of a pre-literate era. This is also one of the few cases where the *Shoki shikkai* uses the *kun* readings, which as stated above, were not central to Masune's explication, in order to organize the interpretation of *Nihon shoki*. The characters that open the second part of the creation story, “therefore it is said” (故曰), are glossed as “old things say” (furu koto ni iu), based on a commentary of the *Shiji*.⁷⁶ Hence, the *kun* that is derived is actually based on the meaning of the same phrase as it appears in a continental text. The commentary includes a postulation: “I surmise...the phrase 故曰 is used in the *Kogo shūi* for things that have been passed down orally by people high and low, young and old.”⁷⁷

⁷⁶ “The “House of Wei” chapter in *Shiji suoyin* (史記索隱, early 8th c.) says “the words and customs of ancient people are explained using 故曰.” *Shoki shikkai* 2, 26.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Maeda suggests that the following passage from Yukikazu's *Taimon hikki* (対問筆記) explains how *Shoki shikkai* is positioning what it reads as an oral transmission.⁷⁸

Going through the document, it says that the period when heaven and earth were not yet opened is lumped together like the primordial mixture up to where it is compared with a chicken's egg...this should be how the uncivilized times were for all countries. Also, the *kun* markings are not inserted for "Heaven and earth, Yin and Yang," etc. From where it says "Of old" (古) to where it says "the divineness dwelt within" (神聖其中焉)⁷⁹ is the preface of this document; it cites the *Huai nan zi* and *San wu li ji* and is the writing of Prince Toneri. This is dealt with in the notes in the *Shaku Nihongi*. It is not unique to Japan, and when speaking of the origins of the universe, they are the same in all countries. There are various oral and secret transmissions that are of no use on this matter. The main thrust of this chronicle is the genealogy of the imperial line; the discussions on heaven and earth and yin were not included. The preface writes how heaven and earth were formed, and then how some myriads of people came into being (気化) in all the countries of the world. In our country, Kunitokotachi no mikoto was the first to come into being, and it speaks of how this god is the ancestor of the imperial line. In that period, in Japan as well, while there were probably many people who came into being in the various states, this chronicle does not include any of them, and only writes of the august names of the ancestors of our emperor.⁸⁰

While not directly connected to the creation of *Shoki shikkai*, the above does provide one rationale for the type of citations that the commentary employs: Chinese texts are relevant not only because the text is in *kanbun*, but also because the phenomena that it describes are part of a single world.

The customs of ancient people (see note 69) were also employed to navigate between the paradigms of actions seen in the continental classics and their unique manifestations in the *Nihon shoki*. For example, as Izanaki flees from Yomi, he uses a number of tricks to throw off his pursuers, including throwing down his comb, which turned into a bamboo forest, throwing down his hairpiece, which transformed into irresistible grapes, or urinating on a large tree, which

⁷⁸ Maeda, *Shoki shikkai*, 122.

⁷⁹ This phrase is actually "the gods were born within;" Yukikazu lost the verb 生 in transcription.

⁸⁰ Yoshida Yukikazu, *Taimon hikki*, in Isomae Jun'ichi, "Yoshimi Yukikazu *Taimon hikki*," *Kokugakuin zasshi* 96-5 (1995), 70-71.

became a great river. *Shoki shikkai* frames each of these in reference to similar events in continental sources. The section ends saying,

Things like throwing the hairpiece and throwing the comb are related to the supernatural (怪異), and are probably old customs that have become part of legend. We should not try to find an exact corollary.⁸¹

Instead, *Shoki shikkai* cites, for example, in Susano-o's extermination of the eight-headed serpent, Gan Bao's *Soushen ji* (搜神記, c. 350), and when Ka'ashitsu hime locks herself inside and sets the house on fire, *Shikkai* brings in the *Fayuan zhhurin* (法苑珠林, 668). While none of these episodes match up perfectly, the idea that similar ancient customs could be found in the ghost stories and Buddhist tales of China buttresses the claim that *Shoki shikkai*'s worldview is akin to that expressed in Yukikazu's statement above, one shared world.

Maeda notes that in *Shoki shikkai*'s criticism of Suika creationism, the special power and origin of imperial authority loses its uniqueness. At the same time, the text explains its location of a "way" within the *Nihon shoki*, in this case one of lords and vassals.⁸² Concern with imperial authority is in fact the reason the Kawamura school zeroed in on *Nihon shoki* to begin with.

Hidene's older brother Hidekai, with whom Hidene had written *Nihon shoki senja ben* back in 1747, suggests as much in his *Kojiki kaidai*:⁸³

...although it is a Wadō-period writing, the writing style is extremely old, and it differs greatly from other works. It uses sinographs but does not use the method of *kanbun* or the method it uses sinographs in, and intersperses writing in *kana*. Compared to the *Nihongi*, the writing is very mean, but as a source material for ancient customs, it is superlative. Therefore the language of the true ancient period in our country is more numerous in this book than in the *Nihongi*, in which reading returns to the ancient language by the addition

⁸¹ Ibid., 64.

⁸² See note 68.

⁸³ It is in Hidekai's hand but may be Hidene's work. See Abe Shūsei (Akio), *Kawamura Hidene* (Sanshōdō, 1942), 168.

of *kunten*. However, Yasumaro records Hieda no Are's transmissions just as they are and without connection to prose. Therefore it lacks the precepts of a national history and the genealogy of the imperial kings is not correct. Therefore it is not called a national history. Even though the *Nihongi* was written after this work the *Nihongi* has the genealogy of the imperial kings correct and mimics the form of a national history, and so it is called the first national history. The use of the character 紀 in the name *Nihon shoki* is because it is connected to the genealogy (統紀) of the imperial kings.⁸⁴

In terms of a writing style that is just as the ancient period, this is in the *Kojiki* more than in the *Nihongi*. Compared to the *Nihongi*, which attempts to establish the genealogy of the imperial kings [emphasis added], the *Kojiki*, which includes the opinions of its compiler in the writing style, is not concerned with the genealogy and records things just as they are, and is more of a truthful record than the *Nihongi*.⁸⁵

Study of the *Nihon shoki* was more important because of its perceived attention to the imperial line, even though it does not record events in a writing style that would preserve things “just as they are.” This explains why the Kawamura school emphasized study of the *Nihon shoki* rather than the *Kojiki*: for Hidene and Masune, the most important component of the study of ancient texts was explicating the way of lord and vassal. Comparison with Norinaga's *Kojikiden* is instructive.

Truly the *Nihon shoki* records things widely, and gives their dates in detail and as a history that is lacking in nothing, it should be said that it covers many things that are not in the *Kojiki*. However, speaking of how the *Kojiki* is a superior record, it is not what is called a classical text of antiquity, but things that have been passed down orally by word of mouth that are not given in the written style of the *Nihon shoki*, which is the real truth of the *Kojiki*. The *Nihon shoki* was probably meant to resemble a Chinese source, but the ornamentation of the prose in *Kojiki* has nothing to do with China and takes as its objective not losing the old language.⁸⁶

While both Kawamura and Norinaga express the same understanding that the *Kojiki* contains more of the original ancient language, their valuations of the texts are complete opposites. The same phenomenon occurs regarding the opening of *Nihon shoki*, discussed above. In *Shoki*

⁸⁴ *Kojiki kaidai*, in *Shoki shikkai* 5, ed. Kojima Noriyuki (Rinsen shoten, 1969), 48.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁸⁶ *Kojikiden*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* 9, ed. Ōno Susumu (Chikuma shobō, 1968), 6.

shikkai, the incorporation of continental texts is made clear and advocates a shared cosmological moment, and the native rendition of this, using the metaphor of the fish on the water, is an oral legend. Conversely, Norinaga disregards this section as being a “the private explanation of the compiler”⁸⁷ and “just a preface.”⁸⁸ The “strange tales” that appear in *Nihon shoki* are taken as folk traditions and legends by *Shoki shikkai* but as truth by Norinaga, and conversely the universality and shared world that makes the commentarial method of *Shikkai* possible is, for Norinaga, evidence of invasive Chinese ideas.

Nihon shoki* in Motoori Norinaga’s *Kojikiden

Motoori Norinaga and his valuation of the *Nihon shoki* has been written on extensively; much of this research uses the first volume of Norinaga’s commentary on the *Kojiki*, *Kojikiden* (古事記伝, 1764-1798) to do so. In this section of the work, Norinaga roundly criticizes the ornamentation of the *Nihon shoki* as a justification for why he instead takes up study of the *Kojiki*. However, as Susan Burns notes, in the commentary itself, Norinaga frequently uses the *Nihon shoki* to interpret the *Kojiki*, such that the “reality of the ancient period was not found in the language of the *Kojiki* itself, but rather was constituted by the production of a new intertextual space.”⁸⁹ Put differently, Norinaga imagined that *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* described the same things, and labored in his commentary to unify their narratives.⁹⁰ Rather than begin

⁸⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁸ *Jindaiki uzu no yamakage*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* 6, ed. Ōkubo Tadashi (Chikuma shobō, 1970), 518.

⁸⁹ Susan Burns, *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan* (Duke University Press, 2003), 81-82.

⁹⁰ Burns suggests that the “Chinese mind” Norinaga identified in the *Nihon shoki* was a device that allowed Norinaga to use this selectively; while this is true on a functional level, I will argue that at the ideological level this move is based on Norinaga’s idea of the trinity of *kotoba*, *koto*, and *kokoro*.

with Norinaga's prescriptives as given in the preface, here discussion will start with the world Norinaga creates in the opening volumes of *Kojikiden* and how *Nihon shoki* is used in practice before moving to discussion the preface and Norinaga's other works.

Norinaga reads the opening as “at the beginning of heaven and earth,” itself a controversial choice in comparison with other early modern exegetes.⁹¹ The most important feature of this section is, as Kōnoshi Takamitsu notes, the treatment of *Kojiki* as a world narrative (*sekai no monogatari*).⁹² On this note, Norinaga writes

So by saying “the beginning of heaven and earth,” first the text only speaks generally to the beginning of this world (Buddhist texts also speak of the “world;” regular people also frequently use it this way). This section is not necessarily pointing to when heaven and earth came into being. The beginning of heaven and earth coming into being is in the next part.⁹³

The “next part” refers to the gods that appeared within something like “floating oil,” and Norinaga reinforces that this is a metaphor and locates that oil-like substance in the sky; both of these interpretations rely on corresponding passages in *Nihon shoki*. As for the metaphor, he writes,

This section speaks of the coming into being of heaven and earth, and first at the beginning, this thing came into being in a clumped mass (this comparison of this to floating oil only refers to its floating character; it is not saying that the thing itself was like oil. This is known because in the *Shoki*⁹⁴ it is compared to fish and clouds. In one of the variants, it also says that the situation was difficult to put into words, and it is difficult to speak to the proper form of this thing.)⁹⁵

⁹¹ Susan Burns, *Before the Nation*, 81.

⁹² See Kōnoshi Takamitsu, *Kojikiden o yomu I* (Kōdansha 2010), 30-33.

⁹³ *Kojikiden I*, 123.

⁹⁴ Norinaga always calls the text the “*Shoki*,” and like the Kawamura commentators, rejected that “*Nihon*” needed to be part of the name.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 134.

Norinaga's interpretation that the metaphor to floating oil describes only the floating character of this amorphous object, rather than its precise form, is seated in descriptions from *Nihon shoki*.

He continues,

Then this thing that floats like oil, when speaking to what it is, it is what will become heaven and earth. The thing that would become heaven and the thing that would become earth are not yet separated, but are mixed and amalgamated as one. In a variant of the *Shoki*, where it has "when heaven and earth were mixed together" refers to this.⁹⁶

In the two passages above, the "fish and clouds" are taken from the main section (fish) and from variant 5 of section 1 (clouds). That the nature of the object is difficult to say is from variant 1 of section 1. Finally, the variant cited in the passage directly above is from variant 3 of section 1.

The same application of *Nihon shoki* is seen when Norinaga goes on to discuss the location of this floating object.

In speaking to the location of this object that is floating like this, it is in the sky (虚空中^{オホソラ}). This should be known because when referencing the *Shoki* on this we see "in the void" (虚中) and "in the sky" (空中). (It says it is floating oil like this; concerning the jellyfish, it is not the case that we know that this thing floats on the surface of the sea. This is a period when heaven and earth had not yet come into being, and because there was no sea, it was only floating in the sky. The thing that would become the sea is also contained within this floating object). In the *Shoki*, it has "At the beginning of the division, the land floated, and was like fish playing on the surface of the water," and a variant has "When heaven and earth first divided, an object was in the void (虚中), and its form is difficult to speak of." A variant has, "Of old, when the state was young and the earth was young, like a floating oil or floating marsh." A variant has "When heaven and earth were not yet come into being, like clouds floating on the sea without a rooted place." By referencing and comparing with these, the nature of this time should be distinguished and known [emphasis added].⁹⁷

Clearly, the sky (虚空中^{オホソラ}) that Norinaga determines to be the location of the floating object is derived from the void (虚中) and sky (空中) seen in the *Nihon shoki*. Further, Norinaga makes it

⁹⁶ Ibid., 135.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 135.

clear in the underlined section that the *Nihon shoki* is indispensable for making sense of the *Kojiki* and events in the divine age. As Kōnoshi notes, in the variants cited in the last half of the passage above, Norinaga omits variant six, which has “in the sky” (he does cite it earlier in the passage).⁹⁸ This variant states that something like a reed came to be in the sky and turned into the god Amatokotachi no mikoto, and that another object like floating oil also appeared in the sky and became Kunitokotachi no mikoto. This is problematic for Norinaga’s interpretation, since he imagines that there should only be one object that would be the origin of heaven and earth; he dispense with this variant saying that “this transmission is somewhat different.”⁹⁹ Of the same, he writes in *Jindaiki uzu no yamakage* that “this is a confused transmission” and that even in the ancient transmissions “little by little, there are some erroneous things.”¹⁰⁰ Norinaga’s interpretation depends on *Nihon shoki*, but he is also happy to omit sections that do not conform to his vision, using reason if possible, but also simply dispensing with them if necessary. Norinaga wraps up this section, which lists the five “separate heavenly deities,” by explaining that these are the deities which existed in heaven.¹⁰¹ As the gods listed in the opening variants of *Nihon shoki* are different, Norinaga suggests that the *Shoki* only lists the earthly deities beginning with Kunitokotachi no mikoto,¹⁰² although in *Nihon shoki* this god, despite the name, comes into being before the earth is formed.

In the following volume of *Kojikiden*, Norinaga narrates the birth of everything in the world and the Japanese islands by Izanaki and Izanami, and again, the *Nihon shoki* proves an

⁹⁸ Kōnoshi, *Kojikiden o yomu*, 39-40.

⁹⁹ *Kojikiden I*, 137.

¹⁰⁰ *Jindaiki uzu no yamakage*, 523.

¹⁰¹ *Kojikiden I*, 141.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

indispensible component of his analysis. Since Norinaga interpreted Izanaki and Izanami as earthly deities, some explanation is needed to explain how they received an order from the heavenly gods. Norinaga suggests that the narration for them ascending to heaven was unnecessary, and matter-of-factly notes that the *Shoki* does not even bother to include their receiving this order.¹⁰³ The gods receive the “marsh spear” (沼矛), which Norinaga renders “jade spear” (瓊矛) based on how it is described in *Nihon shoki*,¹⁰⁴ then thrust it into the floating object described in the previous volume, which again is supplemented with a *Nihon shoki* variant.¹⁰⁵ The misfortunes of Izanaki and Izanami, both her speaking first when they meet and the birth of the leech child, are given as “not good” (不良) in the *Kojiki*, which Norinaga glosses “fusahazu.” Norinaga weighs three readings for this gloss: “yokarazu,” “saganashi,” and “fusahazu,” and cites not only *Nihon shoki* but also Heian lectures as recorded in the *Shaku Nihongi* and a citation of *Nihon shoki* from *Kakaishō* (河海抄, 14th c.), a commentary of *Tale of Genji*. Hence Norinaga is not only cross-referencing *Kojiki* with *Nihon shoki* itself, but engaging with the corpus of *Nihon shoki* exegesis.

After giving birth to the eight islands of the country itself, Izanami gives birth to a slew of gods associated with natural phenomena, which the *Kojiki* breaks into groups of ten, four, and three, ending with the fire god whose birth sees Izanami retired. Izanaki visits his dearly departed in Yomi, and on his return bathes himself, resulting in another rash of deity production. This ritual cleansing is absent from the main text of *Nihon shoki*, but is included in variants six and ten of part five. In a peculiar turn, Norinaga takes the group of ten deities listed in *Kojiki* as being

¹⁰³ Ibid., 166.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 160.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 162.

born immediately after the eight islands of the country and identifies them as being the same as those born when Izanaki cleanses himself, saying “these ten gods are originally from one transmission of the time of the cleansing, but in confusion, in the *Kojiki*, the section on the cleaning and that here [with the ten gods] are repeated.”¹⁰⁶ That is to say, Norinaga imagines the gods born immediately after the eight-island country are actually from when Izanaki cleansed himself. He then incorporates variant ten from *Nihon shoki*, in which Izanaki produces six named gods while bathing followed by the gods of the earth and sea, and three gods invoked in the *Ōharae norito*. All of these gods are different, but Norinaga uses a combination of etymology, wordplay, and word association on the names of these gods to bend them into a single narrative. One case is particularly egregious, and as Kōnosshi notes, Norinaga himself seems to be aware of the precariousness of his position.¹⁰⁷ As seen above, Norinaga was not above simply dispensing with information that did not fit his narrative, but generally speaking, his goal was to provide a complete and reasoned explanation whenever possible. Because he imagined the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* to be the same narrative, dealing with the differences between the two and the numerous *Nihon shoki* variants required a high degree of commentarial acrobatics. Izanaki’s trip to Yomi is not in the main text of *Nihon shoki*, but as it is given in two variants, Norinaga was pressed to align them with the content of *Kojiki*. The first of these variants (six) largely overlaps with *Kojiki*, but the other (ten) simply does not fit; Norinaga’s response here is to reorder the *Kojiki* narrative, claiming that part of it is sort of text-within-a-text and out of place. Hence, Norinaga is not only using the *Nihon shoki* as a supplement to *Kojiki*, but demonstrates that in some cases its content could take precedence over *Kojiki*; this practical component of Norinaga’s

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 204.

¹⁰⁷ Kōnosshi, *Kojikiden o yomu*, 86.

exegesis must be considered when reviewing his discussion of the *Nihon shoki* in the *Kojikiden* preface, discussion of which follows below.

Continuing through the *Kojikiden* only reinforces the importance of *Nihon shoki* to Norinaga's effort: Izanaki's trip to Yomi and his ritual cleansing, the exchange of vows by Amaterasu and Susano-o and the resultant deities, Susano-o's slaying of Ōgestsuhime and the eight-headed serpent, the name of his sword, the parentage of Ōkuninushi, etc. all involve some incorporation of *Nihon shoki* content. To give one final example of the role in *Nihon shoki* in Norinaga's exegesis, volume ten of *Kojikiden* narrates Ōnamuji's adventures with the Hare of Inaba and torture by his siblings. This narrative is completely absent from *Nihon shoki*, leaving Norinaga no recourse but to work through *Kojiki* itself. In one scene, Ōnamuji's siblings lay a trap by felling a tree and splitting it, and somehow kill him with the tree. The instrument they use to do this is described at first as an kind of arrow (茹矢) and when it is removed as a different type of arrow (永目矢), and Norinaga is unable to decipher the meaning of either. He writes, "in this section, this character (茹) and the word 永目矢 are difficult to give details of, and generally the situation is hard to determine."¹⁰⁸ Norinaga posits two scenarios for the episode because it is difficult to see what an arrow has to do with anything. In the first, he renders it as a kind of wedge that is inserted into the split tree that would cause it to snap shut and kill him when it is removed. In the second, the arrow is more like a binding that would hold the split tree together, and when removed would cause the tree to fall on him. "Which of these is better is hard to determine," Norinaga writes, before moving on to the next section of text.¹⁰⁹ Kōnoshi suggests

¹⁰⁸ *Kojikiden* I, 440.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 441.

that if Norinaga had had a corresponding section of *Nihon shoki* with which to compare, the exegesis would not end so indeterminately.¹¹⁰

As noted earlier, *Kojikiden* begins with a series of discussions that form Norinaga's prescriptives for reading the *Kojiki*; having looked at the way Norinaga performs exegesis in practice the directives in this "preface" will become more clear. It is composed of eight parts: an essay on old records and classics, an essay on the *Nihon shoki*, an essay on the *Kujiki*, and brief notes on the title, manuscripts and commentaries, text style, use of script, and method for glossing. These are followed by Norinaga's treatise "Naobi no mitama." In the first section of the preface, Norinaga lays out his basic framework for philology and uses it to compare *Nihon shoki* to *Kojiki*.

Meaning (意, *kokoro*), thing (事, *kotogara*), and word (言, *kotoba*) have consonance with each other. In the ancient period, the meaning, thing, and word were all of the ancient period, and in later periods, the meaning, thing, and word were of the later period. In China, the meaning, thing and word are of China. In the *Nihon shoki*, it uses the meaning of the later period to inscribe the things of the ancient period, and with the words of China, it inscribes the meaning of this imperial country. Therefore, there are many places where [the meaning, thing, and word] do not match up. In the *Kojiki*, not even a bit of artifice is added, and as it is inscribed just as it was transmitted from antiquity, the meaning, thing, and word are congruous with each other, and all of them are the truth of the ancient period.¹¹¹

Notably, there is no direct criticism of China here, and more importantly, Norinaga makes clear that despite having divergent meanings and words, the things recorded in *Nihon shoki* are from the ancient period. In the following section, Norinaga will go on to describe these differing meanings and words as "decorations" (*kazari*).

The primary issue with the "decorations" as Norinaga sees them is that they lead to a mistaken record and understanding of events in antiquity. For example, the yin-yang balance that

¹¹⁰ Kōnoshi, *Kojikiden o yomu*, 195.

¹¹¹ *Kojikiden* I, 6.

appears in the opening of *Nihon shoki* and animates the main narrative of the text is criticized as a “habit of Chinese people” that is intended to explain everything in the world as a totalized philosophy. However, as Norinaga notes, the five phases of Chinese yin-yang theory is not present in India, which uses a four-phase cosmology, leading Norinaga to assert that the principle of yin and yang is really just a “private explanation” (as in a pet theory) invented by someone in China.¹¹² Further, he notes that it does not really fit with the description of the Japanese ancient period, for example the sun being a female deity and moon being a male deity goes against the basic principles of yin–yang duality.¹¹³ This also demonstrates an important component of Norinaga’s approach in comparison to earlier commentators. Where medieval exegesis, such as Kaneyoshi’s *Nihon shoki sanso*, as well as early modern Suika commentary, tried to reconcile *Nihon shoki* with the cosmological principles of continental philosophy, Norinaga is focused instead on granulating distinct traditions and removing their influence from what he imagines are the ancient transmissions recorded as passed down in the *Kojiki*.

While *Kojiki* transmitted both the meaning, thing, and word of the ancient period, as mentioned before, in *Nihon shoki* only the thing was carried over from ancient Japan. For this reason, Norinaga bemoaned the long commentarial history of the *Nihon shoki* and lack of interest in the *Kojiki* and sought to reverse their positions, claiming that “the *Kojiki* should be set as the highest of historical writings, and the *Nihon shoki* should be second to it.”¹¹⁴ However, this does not mean that Norinaga did not value the *Nihon shoki*, and as he imagined the “things” within *Nihon shoki* to be a faithful record of the ancient period, and as seen in the excerpted sections of his commentary above, Norinaga used *Nihon shoki* to understand and even to determine the

¹¹² Ibid., 10.

¹¹³ Ibid., 11.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 7.

meaning of information in the *Kojiki*. This operation is possible within the terms of his philological framework because the “things” are held in common between the two texts. For reading *Nihon shoki*, there is just an additional caveat that the reader will have to jettison the “Chinese ideas” that “decorate” the text. Norinaga imagines himself accomplishing this, and his commentary of the *Kojiki* is only possible by, and in fact demands, the incorporation of *Nihon shoki* as a veritable record of the ancient period.

The last four sections of the introduction discuss Norinaga’s understanding of how the *Kojiki* was written and functioned to transmit ancient words; discussion of this will be omitted here, but it is important to note that Norinaga imagined that writing did not exist in the ancient period, and so *Kojiki* was written using sinographs out of necessity. Hirata Atsutane’s overturning of this assertion will be discussed later in the chapter, and the continuing problem of when writing entered the archipelago will be a central issue in Meiji Japan and covered in chapter five. The *Kojikiden* preface ends with Norinaga’s treatise *Naobi no mitama*; Norinaga writes after the title that “what follows is a theory on what is called “the way.”¹¹⁵ This section of the text continued to be republished in a stand-alone format until the end of World War 2, though as Nishimura Sey notes, in these instances *Naobi no Mitama* was “taken out of its context (as a part of the Introduction to *Kojikiden*).”¹¹⁶ Further, as the treatise speaks generally of *musuhi* as a cosmic guiding force, its contents are an extrapolation of material found in the *Kojikiden* itself.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 49.

¹¹⁶ Sey Nishimura, “The Way of the Gods. Motoori Norinaga’s *Naobi no Mitama*,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 46-1 (1991): 24-25.

¹¹⁷ On *musui* in Norinaga’s thought, see Kōnoshi Takamitsu, *Kojiki to Nihon shoki: tennō shinwa no rekishi* (Kōdansha, 1999).

As Kōnoshi notes, “there is little meaning in speaking of Norinaga in terms of intellectual history based on this extract and divorced from the commentary.”¹¹⁸

Hirata Atsutane and Divine-age Script

A strong contrast to Norinaga’s focus on a single text, the *Kojiki*, and his assertion that writing existed in the divine age, is found in the writings of Hirata Atsutane (平田篤胤, 1776-1843). For Atsutane, it was the *norito*, Shinto prayers, that accurately recorded the words from the divine age, as opposed to the written records of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, which mixed in other erroneous material. In Atsutane’s words:

That which passes down the origins of the gods, of the gods Kamurogi no mikoto and Kamuromi no mikoto, is, when the heavenly descendant came down from heaven and governs the august realm – this is done by depending on and bestowing the divine ceremony (*kamu matsuri*) which is taken as the primary component. Because the teaching is passed down, the august reigns of the august descendants, in accordance with the great words, at each divine ceremony, are reverently and strictly recited and bestowed. Therefore, they are transmitted extremely correctly. The transmissions recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Jindaiki* [volumes of *Nihon shoki*] were passed in the houses of the descendants of the 1500 numerous gods, and also are explanations and the like that were widely repeated in the world, and because they are collected and cited, as a matter of course many transmissions that mix in things that are not true can be said to be amalgamated thusly.¹¹⁹

Put shortly, because the *norito* had been chanted at major ceremonies since, in Atsutane’s view, the age of the gods, they accurately preserved “origins,” while the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* had been compromised; Yamashita Hisao suggests that in this vein, Atsutane prioritized practicality, as in the performative nature of the ceremonies, over compilation.¹²⁰ Atsutane continue to

¹¹⁸ Kōnoshi Takamitsu, *Motoori Norinaga Kojikiden o yomu 4* (Kōdansha, 2014), 285.

¹¹⁹ *Koshichō*, in *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū 5*, ed. Hirata Atsutane zenshū hankō kai (Meicho shuppan, 1977), 30.

¹²⁰ Yamashita Hisao, “Hirata ha no Nihongi kenkyū,” *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 64-3 (1999), 126.

suggest that study of the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* needed to be based on the transmissions of the *norito* so that differences in the written texts could be mistaken explanations.¹²¹

Atsutane's doubts about the *Nihon shoki* begin with the *Shaku Nihongi*, which mentions a text called the *Kana nihongi* several times in its record of the Heian court lectures. Atsutane was particularly interested in the theory put forth in *Shaku Nihongi* that there were originally two versions of the *Kana nihongi*, one with mixed Chinese and Japanese, and another "entirely in *kana* with kinds of Japanese words."¹²² This would lead to a larger theory that writing did in fact exist in the divine age; Atsutane began by casting aspersions on the idea of oral transmissions seen, for example, in *Kogo shūi*, as well as in Norinaga.

In the age of the gods, as for the idea that there was no writing, it says in Inbe no Hironari's *Kogo shūi* that in the ancient period there was no writing, and people old and young, noble and common passed down things by word of mouth, so that words from before would be sent forward, preserved, and not forgotten. This has been taken as proof and fixedly passed down by those learned in world affairs, and I as well had thought it so. Thinking on it recently, this is a vague assumption. Therefore now I want to criticize and revise it. However, here I will make clear the format of the work called *Kana nihongi* in the *Shaku Nihongi*, and because if I spoke on it later it the reasoning would be difficult to distinguish, first I must speak on this matter.¹²³

Atsutane linked this text, as given in *Shaku Nihongi*, to a written record that he imagined predated the *Nihon shoki* and was in fact from the ancient period itself. He further asserted that this *Kana nihongi* had been transmitted to the time when Urabe Kanekata was writing *Shaku Nihongi* in the early fourteenth century.

Of the two purported *Kana nihongi* texts, Atsutane was primarily concerned with the first, which mixed Chinese and Japanese words (the second, written with Japanese words in Chinese characters, he imagined was basically the *Kojiki*).

¹²¹ *Koshichō*, 30.

¹²² *Shaku Nihongi*, in *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 8, ed. Kuroita Katsumi (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1999), 4-5.

¹²³ *Koshichō*, 32.

When it says it used a mixture of Japanese and Chinese characters, because this means it was inscribed by Japanese characters and Chinese characters mixed together, those Japanese characters were letters that were transmitted from the divine age.¹²⁴

In order to buttress this idea, Atsutane turned again to the *Shaku Nihongi*, this time to a section discussing divination. Here, an explanation from a previous master is cited, claiming that writing existed in the divine age, because in one variant of *Nihon shoki*, the heavenly gods perform divination after Izanaki and Izanami give birth to the leech child. This means that writing would have had to exist in the divine age. The explanation goes on to distinguish these letters from the “iroha” letters invented by Kōbō Daishi.¹²⁵ Atsutane discussed this point and evaluated it positively, and went on to cite Ban Nobutomo with regards to how divination was performed using writing on deer scapulae. Importantly then, these divine letters were connected to religious ceremony, which dovetails with Atsutane’s interest in *norito*, and suggested to Atsutane a vehicle by which one could learn the “intentions of the gods.”¹²⁶

Because Atsutane had destabilized the paradigm, in place since *Kogo shūi*, that advocated for a spoken language by which information was transmitted orally until the eighth century when it was finally written down, for Atsutane there was no reason to value the *Kojiki* above other texts in the fashion of Norinaga. Conversely, as Atsutane imagined the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* being mixed (or contaminated) with material from myriad clans, his commentary on the ancient period, *Koshiden*, is a broad-sweeping assemblage of numerous texts, naturally including *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* but also pulling in *Kogo shūi*, *Shinsen shōjiroku*, and others. Where Norinaga would read the *Kojiki* and seek confirmation or clarification in the *Nihon shoki* (or occasionally elsewhere, like *Man’yōshū*), Atsutane attempted to combine all of these texts

¹²⁴ Ibid., 34.

¹²⁵ *Shaku Nihongi*, 5.

¹²⁶ *Koshichō*, 35.

into a single narrative, which he published in 1818 as *Koshi seibun* (古史成文). He went on to write a commentary of this work, the 1825 *Koshiden* (古史伝). Consider the brief episode below, from the beginning of volume 2 of *Koshi seibun*.

Amaterasu ōmikami proclaimed to Kamuhaya Susano-o, saying, “In the central reed-plain country I hear there is one called Ukemochi no kami.” She proclaimed to him that he should go and look. He received the order and descended from heaven, and went to the place where Ukemochi no kami was. At this time Ukemochi no kami, from her nose, mouth, and buttocks, took out various types of foodstuffs and placed them on one hundred tables. When the foodstuffs had been prepared and were offered up to be eaten, Susano-o stood and saw how this had been done, and that vile things had been presented to him. He became angry and pronounced, “How vile! How base! That you should cultivate such for me!” Then he immediately drew his sword and slew Ukemochi no kami. Then he went back and reported in detail what had happened at that time. Amaterasu ōmikami was incensed, and pronounced him an evil god, and that he should not ever see her again. Therefore the sun and the night are separated.¹²⁷

There are several components to this particular episode, which combines variant 11 of *Nihon shoki* section 5 with the episode of Susano-o slaying Ōgetsuhime in the *Kojiki*. In the *Nihon shoki*, the main actor is not Susano-o but Tsukuyomi, Amaterasu’s other brother; Tsukuyomi’s association with the moon is reflected in the episode’s closing, which uses the conflict between them to explain the separation of day and night. This line of reasoning is omitted by switching the protagonist to Susano-o. Atsutane also removes the Ōgetsuhime narrative from the *Kojiki* to clean up the inconsistency.

As *Koshi seibun* is intended to be read as a straight-through account, the inclusion of the *Nihon shoki* variants along with the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* makes for an even more disjointed narrative than the originals. The episode above, numbered 40, occurs immediately after the oath between Susano-o and Amaterasu, and is followed by Susano-o’s bad behavior towards his

¹²⁷ *Koshi seibun*, in *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū 1*, ed. Hirata Atsutane zenshū hankō kai (Meicho shuppan, 1977), 35.

sister; this is where the variant occurs in the *Nihon shoki* as well. Several episodes describing the luring of Amaterasu out of the heavenly rock cave then continue along the general narrative track of the main *Nihon shoki* narrative and *Kojiki* narrative until episode 62, when Susano-o is expelled from heaven and has to beg for lodging from the gods, a section of a *Nihon shoki* variant. In the variant as well as *Koshi seibun*, Susano-o returns to heaven and receives the daughters born of the previous oath. Atsutane then skips to a later variant and has Susano-o go to Silla, which is patched to another variant to see the planting of trees on the archipelago. Susano-o then finally arrives in Izumo in episode 68. This sort of narrative bundling shows that Atsutane imagined there was one true narrative that could be teased out through amalgamation and recombination of ancient texts; as noted above, this approach stems directly from his view that the textual materials had been compromised.

The problem of letters in the divine age raised by Atsutane was a fundamental problem for literary scholars in the Meiji period, who were trying to identify the beginnings of Japanese literature. Within *Nihon shoki* commentary, Iida Takesato (飯田武郷, 1828-1900), who finished his 70-volume commentary *Nihon shoki tsūshaku* in 1899, the issue was summarily dispensed with by assigning the first contact with continental writing systems to the reign of Emperor Suinin, 29 B.C.E to 70 C.E. This would pre-date the 714 order from *Shoku Nihongi* significantly, meaning that there would be no need for divine-age letters regardless of what writing system was used in the history it refers to.

Chapter 4 – Meiji Readings of *Nihon shoki*: History, Linguistics, and Mythology

Following the influx of foreign researchers, establishment of a national university, and aggressive foreign exchange program in the mid-Meiji period, a host of new approaches to reading and understanding *Nihon shoki* and ancient Japan came into dialogue and competition with each other. This chapter will focus on the historians, linguists, and theologians who were concerned with the veracity of the text and the interpretations that could salvage that veracity in the face of new ideas about history and divinity. These interpretations centered on three issues: the meaning of the divine-age volumes, the chronological system, and the geography of ancient Northeast Asia. The first of these arises because the divine age recounts events on the archipelago up to only one generation prior to the first human emperor. Because *Nihon shoki* directly links the gods to the imperial line, the events of the divine age could be imagined as not totally removed from human history, creating space for a historical reading of the divine age volumes. Moreover, the numerous variant texts seen in *Nihon shoki* provided further opportunity to historicize the actions of the gods, with one particular variant in which Susano-o visits Silla as the most significant contributor to the historicization project. The chronology of the *Nihon shoki* became an issue because it records the founding of the empire at an implausible 660 B.C.E, six hundred years before the first recorded embassies from China, and because the early emperors tended to have unbelievably long lifespans, such as Kōan, who died at age 136. Finally, because the *Nihon shoki* also includes details of events on the Korean peninsula, scholars sought to reconcile the locations described in *Nihon shoki* with Korean and Chinese records to find historical consensus on ancient Northeast Asian political geography.

The Diversity of Meiji Readings

The diversity of Meiji readings is well-described in a 1912 article, *Kojiki ni tsuite*, by the mythology scholar Takagi Toshio (高木敏雄, 1876-1922).¹ Takagi categorizes Meiji scholarship on the *Kojiki* and, by extension, on the *Nihon shoki*, by dividing it into four methodologies. The first is the Norinaga school of *kokugaku* (国学), a hold-over from the Edo period, which Takagi interprets as saying that the *Kojiki* should be interpreted literally and that no criticism was needed. The second he calls the historical school, which takes the entirety of *Kojiki* as Japan's ancient history. Parts of the text that were difficult to understand would be read metaphorically because supernatural components like gods and miracles reflected events caused by human actors. The third group used a linguistic approach; etymological similarity connected the roots of the Japanese language and people to other ethnic groups, and by extension, some parts of the *Kojiki* could be read in foreign languages like Korean or Mongolian. Finally, he adds scholars of mythology, to which group he includes himself, that take either the entire *Kojiki* or some sections of it as myth. Takagi adds that his own interpretation splits the *Kojiki* into three components: myth, history, and literature.

On the one hand, Takagi's classifications are simple, convenient, and reveal, especially in the tri-partite interpretation he adopts himself, that by the end of the Meiji period the modern disciplines of history, literature, and mythology had stratified their positions. On the other, they are hardly as immutable as Takagi makes them out to be. Takagi essentializes these methodologies with the benefit of twenty-twenty hindsight, and he quite naturally qualifies each of the first three groups with a jibe at their inappropriateness or outdatedness. He makes Meiji-period *kokugaku* out to be no different from Motoori Norinaga's (本居 宣長, 1730-1801) scholarship from a century earlier. The historical school that uses metaphor he dates back further,

¹ Takagi Toshio, "Kojiki ni tsuite," *Tōa no hikari* 7-2 (1912).

to the ancient Greek philosopher Euhemerus. The linguists are divided between mutually exclusive positions, uncertain of whether the *Kojiki* should be read in Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, or some South Seas language, reflecting a larger debate about the linguistic relationship between Japanese and other languages and on the origins of the Japanese people. In comparison, Takagi's combination of mythology, history, and literature lets him adopt the useful parts of each methodology while also positioning himself critically in relation to earlier scholarship. This mythological reading of *Kojiki*, as well as of *Nihon shoki*, appeared in the late Meiji period in the work of Shiratori Kurakichi (白鳥庫吉, 1865-1942), Takagi and, most prominently, Shiratori's student Tsuda Sōkichi (津田左右吉 1873-1961). Moreover, while scholars in each of these groups had their own methodological predilections, they were by and large in dialogue with each other, attending each other's talks and responding in print in their articles and editorials. There was significant crossover between categories. Shiratori, who was primarily a linguist, was a student of a member of the second group, the historian Kume Kunitake (久米邦武 1839-1931).² Kume, while squarely in the field of positivist historicism, would cite Norinaga both to criticize him and to support his own arguments, as did Kume's colleagues at the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo. On the kokugaku side, Konakamura Kiyonori (小中村清矩 1822-1895), trained by Norinaga's grandson-in-law, would lead an attack against Kume in 1893 resulting in Kume's dismissal from the university, but Konakamura also attempted a historical reading of ancient sources as evinced in articles he published in the Historiographical Institute's journal *Shigakkai zasshi* (史学会雑誌), published

² Saeki Arikiyo has shown that though Takagi did not explicitly say who he was criticizing in this article, the historical school referred specifically to Kume and the metaphorical reading of the divine-age volumes he proposed. See Saeki Arikiyo, "Kume Kunitake to *Nihon kodai shi*," in *Kume Kunitake no kenkyū*, ed. Ōkubo Toshiaki (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1991), pgs. 7-14.

by the office Kume worked in.³ There are also important scholars of ancient Japan who fall outside Takagi's framework, namely the British diplomats William G. Aston and Basil H. Chamberlain.

Despite these defects, Takagi's categories are useful as a general framework for understanding the angles of attack taken by scholars for reading *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* in the Meiji period. At the core, these approaches are all grappling with the same fundamental problem: the *Kojiki*, as well as the *Nihon shoki*, contain a number of narratives, especially the volumes on the gods and early emperors, that are unique to these texts and therefore do not easily fit together with historical sources or cosmological explanations from other times and places. Because of this, new interpretive approaches were required for these texts to retain relevance or usefulness for the study of Japanese literature and history. On the most superficial level, this issue was the same as for medieval and early modern scholars whose commentaries recast *Nihon shoki* within Buddhist cosmological principles or in connection to Chinese historical sources. For Meiji scholars this process was tied to the history of Japan as a civilization and to the origins of its people. For the positivist historians of the late nineteenth century, the largest obstacle was the supernatural content, especially of the earliest volumes of *Nihon shoki* and first volume of *Kojiki*, and these scholars were trying to locate truth in fiction. The first three schools outlined by Takagi were methods for doing just that. Scholars in the literary tradition shared this issue from the outset, but once a movement to create a national corpus of literature began, the facticity of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* was no longer a point of contention. Their interpretations will be discussed in the following chapter.

³ Susan Burns notes that Konakamura pressed to have Kume dismissed following Kume's publication of "*Shintō wa saiten no kozoku*" (Shinto is an Outdated Custom of Heaven-worship) in 1892. See her *Before the Nation* (Duke University Press, 2003), 195.

The first group that Takagi identifies, *kokugaku* scholars, is the most amorphous because *kokugaku* encompasses such a large number of people and practices. Ewa Machotka, paraphrasing Susan Burns, writes that in the early modern period “at the heart of *kokugaku* developments and its wide popularization were not the ideas of the Four Great Men⁴...but networks of people spread all over the country pursuing different cultural activities with poetry at its core. They were defined as a school not because their views on certain issues related to nativist discourse, but simply because of their interests in literary pursuits.”⁵ This breadth carried over into the Meiji period, where, as Michael Wachutka notes, *kokugaku* referred to “Japanese scholars and intellectuals who, despite following a variety of ideological persuasions, concerned themselves in a broad sense with ‘Things Japanese’ – to use the title of a well-known book by Basil Hall Chamberlain.”⁶ Further, as Wachutka concretely demonstrates, *kokugaku* in Meiji-period Japan is a broad enough topic that an entire book can be devoted to the subject. Takagi’s reference to Norinaga is overly simplistic, but the core of his point is to identify scholars who read *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as religious texts and believed the gods were divine beings. For these scholars, the primary textual problem was the varying accounts in *Nihon shoki* in the divine-age, and, like Norinaga and Atsutane, they sought to reorder and recombine these in order to create a single narrative that papered over the differences between accounts.

⁴ The “four great *kokugaku* scholars” were Kada no Azumamaro (荷田 春満, 1669-1736), Kamo no Mabuchi (賀茂 真淵, 1697-1769), Motoori Norinaga, and Hirata Atsutane (平田 篤胤, 1776-1843). Burns notes the role Konakamura played in solidifying these four figures as the most important *kokugaku* scholars; the identification of these four was made by Ōkuni Takamasa (大國隆正, 1792-1871) in the late Edo period.

⁵ Ewa Machotka, *Hokusai’s Hyakunin isshu: Visual Genesis of Japanese National Identity* (Brussels: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2009), 33.

⁶ Michael Wachutka, *Kokugaku in Meiji-period Japan: the Modern Transformation of “National Learning” and the Formation of Scholarly Societies* (Leiden: Global Oriental, 2013), 2.

The second category refers specifically to Kume, who relied on metaphor to interpret the early sections of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. However, the group could easily be expanded to include his colleague at the Historiographical Institute, Hoshino Hisashi (星野恒 1839-1917). Kume and Hoshino collaborated on an 1890 textbook, *Kokushi gan* (国史眼),⁷ and also reference each other in work they published in *Shigaku zasshi*.⁸ Hoshino largely focused on the history of the Korean peninsula, and the two of them used a metaphorical reading of the divine-age volumes of *Nihon shoki* to form a larger theory of early East Asian international relations.

The third group refers to scholars like Inoue Tetsujirō (井上哲次郎 1865-1944), who postulated a theory of Malay-Polynesian roots for the Japanese language, Shiratori, who initially supported an Altaic language association only to reverse his position in 1909, and Kanazawa Shōsaburō (金沢 庄三郎, 1872-1967), who argued both for a genetic relationship between the Korean and Japanese languages and for a shared racial lineage between the two. This group holds together on a superficial level, in that each of these scholars used comparative linguistics to understand the ancient past, but their concrete methodologies regarding *Nihon shoki* differed significantly. For example, Kanazawa initially used Kume and Hoshino's metaphorical reading to buttress a genetic relationship between Japanese and Korean, whereas Shiratori rejected the facticity of Nara-period sources regarding the ancient period and relied solely on linguistic comparison. Inoue, more strongly driven by ideological expediency, began by rejecting Kume's style of reading, but eventually adopted a similar position following annexation of the Korean peninsula.

⁷ Shigeno Yasutsugu, Kume Kunitake, and Hoshino Hisashi, ed., *Kōhon kokushi gan* (Taiseikan, 1890).

⁸ *Shigaku zasshi* is the name the publication used after 1892; prior to that it was called *Shigakkai zasshi*.

Finally, the fourth refers to Takagi himself, though he substantially postdates members of the other three groups. In terms of fame, Takagi would be eclipsed by Shiratori's student Tsuda Sōkichi, though Sawa Chie makes a strong case for parallels, if not wholesale borrowing by Tsuda, between their ideas about mythology.⁹ Tsuda credits Shiratori for the initial identification of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as stories created in the seventh century, but his own style of comparative mythology would form the basis for reading these texts for the rest of the twentieth century. Tsuda imagined that there was an originary body of Japanese mythology that pre-dated the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, but that the texts themselves were written solely to legitimate the imperial claim to power in the Nara period. Through close reading and comparison between the variant versions of these myths, he claimed it would be possible to jettison this political component and excavate the original mythology.

Naka Michiyo and the Foundation Year Debate

In 1888, Naka Michiyo (那珂通世 1851-1908) proposed a revision of the chronology of *Nihon shoki* based on Chinese and Korean sources. Strictly speaking, Naka's work falls outside of the Takagi's grouping in that he did not try to incorporate the divine-age volumes of the text into his proposal; rather he focused on the third through tenth volumes of the text. At the same time, Naka's goal, trying to read and preserve the historical value of *Nihon shoki*, coincides with the aims of scholars who used metaphorical or comparative linguistics approaches towards the divine-age volumes. More importantly, Naka's proposal stimulated a massive debate on the facticity of the founding year that illustrates not only Naka's attempt to reseat *Nihon shoki* within a paradigm of a shared East Asian history but the concerns of those who supported or rejected

⁹ See Sawa Chie, "Tsuda Sōkichi to hikaku shinwa," *Hikaku bunka kenkyū* 87 (2009), 53-64 and Sawa Chie, "Tsuda Sōkichi no kiki kaishaku ni kan suru ichi kōsatsu: "myth" kara "shinwa" e," *Soshiosaiensu* 16 (2010), 17-32.

his proposal. The debate took place in the weekly journal *Bun* and began in September, when Naka published “Thoughts on the Eras of Early Japan.”¹⁰ His original essay spanned two issues, then was followed by a year of reaction pieces from all sides that is a virtual who’s who of Meiji historians, including responses from Kume, Hoshino, Chamberlain, and Aston. The most pointed opposition came from Ikebe Yoshikata (池辺義象, 1861-1923), Konakamura’s protégé and one of the first graduates of the Classics Course at the Tokyo University.

In the second issue containing the last half of Naka’s article, the editors of *Bun* appended a four-point summary of his most important points. First, they noted that “the *Nihon shoki* has extreme abnormalities in its foundation year (*kinen* 紀年), and there is no small number of both lords and vassals whose lifespans are outrageous.”¹¹ Using the *Nihon shoki* system of annals and, in places, records from the *Kojiki*, Naka identifies several cases where members of the imperial family lived for well over one hundred years or where they appear to have done things before being born. For example, *Nihon shoki* claims that Yamato Takeru is sent to subdue the Kumaso at age sixteen in Keikō 27 (97 C.E.), so he should have been born in Keikō 12 (82 C.E.). However, *Nihon shoki* also records his birth, along with his twin brother Ōusu, in Keikō 2 (72 C.E.). Similarly, Ōusu seduced two women in Keikō 4 (74 C.E.), which would either make him a very alluring three-year-old or would have happened eight years before he was born. This criticism extends to several other historical figures, such as Empress Jingū’s minister Takeshiuchi no sukune (武内宿禰), who purportedly lived from 84-367 C.E. Because of the high number of such cases, Naka determined that these cases were not simply an oversight but a deliberate extension. He also disregarded the proposition that ancient people lived longer than

¹⁰ Naka Michiyo, “Nihon jōko nendai kō,” in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 58-83.

¹¹ *Bun* editors, “Nihon kigen no seihi,” in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 85.

people in the present, saying that living twice as long as people in the present is simply not possible for earthly humans.¹²

Second, Naka proposed this deliberate extension of lifespans by the compilers of *Nihon shoki* was so that the legendary founding of the Japanese empire would fall in the year 660 B.C.E. Here, Naka followed the Edo scholar Ban Nobutomo's (伴信友, 1773-1846) thesis that Nara period calendrical thought was heavily influenced by two concepts in the Chinese divination practice of *chen wei* (JP. *shin'i* 讖緯): the 1,260 year epoch of *ippō* (一蓐) and the “revolutionary year” *kanoto tori* (辛酉). 660 B.C.E. was both a revolutionary year and 1,260 years before 601, the year that Prince Shōtoku assumed power as regent for his aunt Empress Suiko.¹³ By exaggerating the lifespans of early emperors, the compilers pushed the founding back to the desired revolutionary year of 660 B.C.E. and enshrined Jinmu and Shōtoku as epochal figures exactly 1,260 years apart.

Third, Naka argued that this calendrical manipulation could be confirmed by comparing events in the reigns of Empress Jingū and Emperor Ōjin to Korean records. This comparison showed that in some places, the *Nihon shoki* chronology was exactly 120 years off. For example, by counting directly forward from 660 B.C.E., Jingū's reign should fall between 201 and 269 C.E. *Nihon shoki* also gives the date for the death of King Kūnch'ogo of Paekche in Jingū 55 (256 C.E.). However, the Korean chronicle *Samguk sagi* (三國史記, 1145) gives the year 375 C.E. for Kūnch'ogo's death, exactly 120 years after the date given in *Nihon shoki*. Since the *Nihon shoki* uses a sixty year notation system to record the years, the 120 year difference does

¹² Naka, “Nihon jōko,” 61.

¹³ Ban introduces this idea in his 1847 *Nihongi nenreki kō*.

not immediately appear upon comparison with Chinese and Korean sources.¹⁴ However, when the chronology is converted from this cyclical method of counting to a linear one, such as the Gregorian calendar, the 120-year gap appears. Naka further proposed that the five reigns following Emperor Richū (r. 400-405) should be compared with the “Five Kings of Wa” (倭五王) that appear in Chinese histories.

The editors summarized Naka’s argument, saying “since we know that there are errors like these based on comparison with foreign histories, the eras of antiquity are more and more dubious, and we should derive estimations of them based on the average length of normal human eras.”¹⁵ Naka himself writes that the years from Jingū on can be revised based on comparison with Chinese and Korean sources, but the reigns before that should be averaged based on the number of reigns rather than discreet years. He calculates that the *Kojiki* dates Emperor Keitai’s birth to 489, 1,360 years before Emperor Meiji (though Meiji was actually born in 1852 not 1849), and so the average length of forty-nine reigns would equal twenty-eight years. Subsequently, Emperor Ōjin would have been born 140 years before Keitai (five times twenty-eight) in 350. The first emperor, Jinmu, was fourteen generations before Ōjin, and Naka sets his birth in the mid-first century B.C.E., with the founding of the Japanese empire at Kashiwara around the same time as the birth of Christ.¹⁶

Regarding the divine-age volumes, Naka notes that it would be impossible to treat Susano-o as a historical personage because of the variant in which Susano-o descends to Silla;

¹⁴ The *Nihon shoki* counts years using the Chinese Stem and Branch combinations, which number from 1 to 60. Instead of 61, the cycle repeats with 1, with the effect that years in multiples of 60 are recorded using the same counter. For example, 660 B.C.E., 600 B.C.E., 601 C.E., etc are all recorded as the same year *kanoto tori* (辛酉).

¹⁵ *Bun* editors, “Nihon kigen,” 85.

¹⁶ Naka, “Nihon jōko,” 73-74.

this would be problematic in that Silla would have had to exist in the age of the gods. Naka also responds in kind to the conflicting accounts regarding Ama no Hihoko, a legendary prince of Silla. *Nihon shoki* records his emigration to Yamato in Suinin 3 (29 B.C.E.), but the *Harima Fudoki* (播磨国風土記, early eighth century) records it as having happened in the divine age. Since the founding of Silla is attributed to 57 B.C.E., the *Fudoki* account must be erroneous. Naka concluded that there was no support for equating the Silla that appears in the age of the gods with the state of Silla founded on the Korean peninsula.

Naka's skepticism regarding the historical value of the divine-age volumes formed an important component of how he understood *Nihon shoki*, but his idea that the compilers of the text had a political interest in extending the reign lengths of early emperors to make the founding of the empire fall in a propitious year was more consequential at this juncture. Naka based his conjectures on the criticism of the Edo scholar Ban Nobutomo, but departed from Ban in that he imagined *Nihon shoki* as a history of the modern nation-state and people of Japan. Ban sought to preserve *Nihon shoki*'s value as a historical text in the face of contradictions with highly regarded continental materials, and he was negotiating Japan's position vis-à-vis Qing China. Conversely, Naka wanted to correct *Nihon shoki* so that Japan's position as a civilization could be cemented, and he was imagining a modern nation-state in a global system. The introduction to his article illustrates this understanding of historical process and its relation to the people of the nation.

The necessity of having a foundation year for history can be compared to needing lines of latitude and longitude on a map. If you have no latitude or longitude, even if the geographical features are clear, the dimensions of the country cannot be known. In the same way, if a foundation year is not established, no matter how detailed historical facts are, the length and recentness of the era cannot be known. Especially in comparing the histories of each country and observing the progress of humanity, if there is no reliable foundation year, the precise value of the results of that observation will largely be lost.

However, with regards to the ancient history of our country, there is no one who has theorized the foundation year, and the *Great History of Japan* (*Dainihon shi* 大日本史) and other unofficial histories leave everything as it is notated in the *Nihon shoki*, placing the era of Emperor Jinmu around 2,500 years before the present and not questioning anything else. While that was reasonable for commentators of in the distant past who blindly believed old stories or feared criticizing the imperially mandated histories, in today's world, as this is insufficient, we must discover the true periodization doing nothing other than dismissing the doubtful things and adopting reliable ones. By doing this, we can compare the ethnic customs from the beginnings of our country to those of others from the same time period and investigate them [emphasis added].¹⁷

For Naka, *Nihon shoki* was the key to writing the history of Japanese civilization and positioning Japanese history in relation to that of other nations.

After their summary, the editors of *Bun* wrote that rather than judge the correctness of Naka's argument, they would solicit the opinions of world experts on the topic, to whom they posed a set of guiding questions. Should the whole of the *Nihon shoki* chronology be believed? If it should be believed, is it possible to prove that it is correct? If not, then how is it wrong? They continued, if the *Nihon shoki* is correct, then what are we to make of Chinese and Korean chronologies? What about the *shin'i* explanation or the equation of Empress Jingū with Himiko? Was a year in the ancient period also 365 days?¹⁸

The range of questions illustrates the breadth of issues that Naka was broaching by his bold reworking of the *Nihon shoki* chronology. Literal interpretation remained the official view in imperial Japan until the end of World War II, for example serving as the basis for the lavish ceremonies and public displays in 1940 to celebrate the 2600th anniversary of Jinmu's accession.¹⁹ While difficult to imagine in the present, in the Meiji period the same Takeshiuchi no sukune, who lived to nearly 300 years, was treated as a historical figure, and he first appeared

¹⁷ Naka, "Nihon jōko," 58.

¹⁸ Bun editors, "Nihon kigen," 85-86.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the 1940 celebrations, see Kenneth Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire's 2,600th Anniversary* (Cornell University Press, 2010).

on Japanese paper currency beginning in 1916. Even after the war, the *Nihon shoki* chronology continues to be influential, and in 1966 a national holiday, National Foundation Day (*kenkoku ki'nen no hi*), was reestablished commemorating Jinmu's accession.

Given the ideological gravity of the issue, numerous scholars joined the debate and their responses to Naka's essay were carried each week in *Bun* through March of 1889. The very first set of responses, included in *Bun* 1:11 from September 22, 1888, are generally supportive of Naka's approach. Notably, the Meiji educator and translator Nakamura Masanao (中村正直, 1832-1891), a member of the Meiji 6 Society, voiced complete agreement with Naka.²⁰ Kume Kunitake, whose own approach will be discussed below, also supported Naka's critique, though he noted his own past efforts at a similar project and suggested Naka's critique could be expanded into a general argument about Japan's relationship with foreign powers beginning in the reign of Empress Suiko (r. 593-628).²¹ Moreover, while supporting the idea of averaging reign lengths for the early emperors, he imagined several different possible averages depending on the time period. Kume's colleague Hoshino Hisashi responded two issues later, on October 6, half in response to Naka's original article and half in embarrassment, presumably at the brevity, of his colleagues' earlier response. Hoshino remarked that the errors in the *Nihon shoki* chronology had been cited by Motoori Norinaga among others, and that in the Historiographical Institute they had been fastidiously comparing *Nihon shoki* entries to Chinese and Korean sources, with results not markedly different from Naka's.²² The primary difference between the

²⁰ Nakamura Masanao, "Nakamura Masanao sensei no kaitō," in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 87-88.

²¹ Kume Kunitake, "Kume Kunitake sensei no kaitō," in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 88-89.

²² Hoshino Hisashi, "Hoshino Hisashi sensei no kaitō," in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 119-129.

two lie in that Naka took a blunt average, whereas Hoshino used discreet events in each reign in conjunction with foreign records, then used the average as a fact check. Moreover, he asserted the “patriotic spirit” (*aikoku shin* 愛国心) of Prince Toneri, the *Nihon shoki*’s compiler, and ascribed the errata to that spirit. One final supporter of note for Naka’s thesis was Katō Hiroyuki, head of the University of Tokyo from 1877-1886 and again from 1890-1893.²³

Reactions to Naka’s article by Chamberlain and Aston were also included in the October 6 issue. Aston had presented his *Early Japanese History* in December 1887, and in general his chronology agreed with Naka.²⁴ He voiced praise for Naka’s critique and resetting of the foundation year, with the only caveat being that he believed Empress Jingū and Himiko were the same person, a point Naka rejected.²⁵ Aston also expressed that the next step would be to recognize that all of the people in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* prior to the fifth century CE were fictional characters. Chamberlain mentioned the similarity with Aston’s article but noted that where Aston had primarily worked to invalidate miraculous events in the *Nihon shoki*, Naka had actually tried to reconstruct that history.²⁶ He further notes the cleverness of Naka’s hypothesis that Prince Toneri had deliberately manipulated the years for Jinmu and Shōtoku, though he criticized Naka for not including any citations for where this idea had come from. He voiced agreement with Aston that Jingū and Himiko were the same, though he threw in that Jingū’s conquest of Korea was probably fictional. He also pointed out that Naka contradicted himself

²³ Katō Hiroyuki, “Katō Hiroyuki sensei no kaitō,” in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 130.

²⁴ See William George Aston, “Early Japanese History,” *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 16 (Yokohama: R. Meiklejohn & Co., 1889).

²⁵ William George Aston, “Asuton sensei no kaitō,” in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 118-119.

²⁶ Basil Hall Chamberlain, “Chanberen sensei no kaitō,” in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 114-117.

regarding the oldest point from which history could be reliably be determined, because he used both the Suiko/Kinmei period, when the calendar was transmitted from the peninsula, and Jingū's conquest as verifiable moments. However, in general Chamberlain was supportive of Naka's effort.

Also of note in the October 6 issue were two critiques from the historian Taguchi Ukichi (田口卯吉, 1855-1905) and the Shinto priest Ochiai Naozumi (落合直澄, 1840-1891). Taguchi expressed his extreme happiness at Naka's thesis but went on to note the ambivalence in the division between the divine and human ages, as gods still appear in the Jinmu volume and Jinmu's brothers appear to be supernatural in character.²⁷ Taguchi hoped that Naka's method of calculation could thereby be used for the divine age as well. Conversely, Naozumi disagreed completely with Naka's methodology, noting that even if there are errors in the chronology of the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, it would be unreasonable to simply shorten all the reigns as Naka did.²⁸ He went on to cite his own work, *Teikoku kinen shi an* (Private Thoughts on the Empire's Founding Year), also from October 1888.²⁹

Additional opinions continued to be published in *Bun* in subsequent issues, but the debate eventually fell into two dialogues, one between Ochiai and Hoshino and another between Naka and Ikebe. Naka and Ikebe's dialogue reflected the stance of a positivistically inclined Oriental Studies scholar, Naka, and the more conservative position of Ikebe that resisted resetting the foundation year. Their back-and-forth appeared in four unimaginatively titled articles: "Theory of the Japanese Foundation Year and Refutation of Naka's Theory" (Ikebe, 10.20.1888),

²⁷ Taguchi Ukichi, "Taguchi Ukichi sensei no kaitō," in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 113-114.

²⁸ Ochiai Naozumi, "Ochiai Naozumi sensei no kaitō," in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 113.

²⁹ See Ochiai Naozumi, *Teikoku kinen shi an* (Iijima Makoto, 1888).

“Refuting Ikebe’s Refutation” (Naka, 11.24.1888), “Further Refutation of Naka’s Refutation” (Ikebe, 12.20.1888), and “Further Refutation of Ikebe’s Further Refutation” (Naka, 1.15.1889).

Ikebe directly disagreed with the idea that the compilers deliberately manipulated the chronology and sought to cast doubt instead on the continental histories that Naka was using to justify his adjustments, resulting in the two of them being unable to agree on any point of how to read the *Nihon shoki* chronology. The first of Ikebe’s responses included thirteen specific points of refutation, although he wrote, “numbers twelve and thirteen are included in earlier points and so do not need to be stated separately.”³⁰ He also included a succinct, seven-point summary of the general issues that he disagreed with Naka on. They are as follows:

- 1) Since the ancient period, there existed a calendrical system.
- 2) The years in the *Nihon shoki* are not untruths added by the compilers.
- 3) The confusion regarding the foundation year that Naka discusses is not resolved by shortening all of the eras.
- 4) It is inappropriate to theorize our foundation year solely based on Chinese and Korean sources.
- 5) There is no need to doubt the long lives of many people from the ancient period.
- 6) Himiko and Yamatai are Empress Jingū and the Yamato state.
- 7) Naka takes Chinese and Korean sources as correct and the Japanese histories to be erroneous, I take Chinese and Korean sources as supplements to the year system of the Japanese histories.³¹

Item two reflects Ikebe’s rejection of calendrical manipulations by the editors of *Nihon shoki*, and items four and seven show his view on how foreign histories and Japanese ones should be integrated. These points come across even more clearly in the introduction to his article:

The foundation year is not only a standard for history, but is connected to the progress of the relative importance, people, and civilization of the national polity, and thereby its correctness or disparities do not stop at merely adding or subtracting letters from a page. Because these matters extend to the state itself, they should not be simply concluded by seeking out frivolous imaginings and only one or two historical sources...the theories of

³⁰ Ikebe Yoshikata, “Nihon kinen o ronji awasete Naka shi no setsu o bakusu,” in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 167.

³¹ Ibid., 167.

several professors assert that our foundation year is a falsehood of scribes, and that our 2,548 years of imperial succession are a great impediment in comparing our history with that of all nations...However, because Naka is conducting research from a mentality of seeking out the completeness of our national history, I do not definitively detest his thesis. I want to think about it as a stone from another mountain.³²

For Ikebe, revision of the *Nihon shoki* dating system was a frontal assault on the national polity.

Moreover, Ikebe clearly noted that historical accuracy is not at the top of his list of priorities; the *Nihon shoki* chronology is simply too important to national interests to be fooled with.

Before refuting Naka's thesis point-by-point, Ikebe divided his own counter-article into three sections: a summary, a section proving that the counting words used in ancient Japan had the same value as they do in the present, and a list of reasons for why ancient emperors could have lived unusually long lives. Unlike Naka, who started by doubting the veracity of *Nihon shoki*, Ikebe started with an assumption of credulity. His first move was a philological analysis that showed that the value of numbers had not changed so they should be taken at face value. Accordingly, if one hundred years was the same then as it was now, as he concluded, then there must be some reasons why ancient emperors lived as long as they did. For example, Ikebe imagined that due to the archipelago's isolation, there were no plagues in the ancient period, or that the peaceful, bucolic lifestyle in the first twenty or thirty imperial reigns promoted longevity. He cited the third poem from the Man'yōshū, about a hunting trip by Emperor Jomei, as evidence of this condition. He also noted entries from Chinese histories that described the unusually long lives of people on the archipelago. Ikebe's research methodology could be described then as first confirming the meaning and reading of words in ancient histories, followed by locating sources in any tradition, foreign or domestic, that supplement those readings. Speaking generally, Naka and Ikebe's difference simply came down to how to deal

³² Ibid., 154-155. A stone from another mountain refers to a phrase from the *Book of Songs* meaning to use someone else's disagreeable words or actions to improve oneself. To another, if polished the stone could become a jewel.

with textual inconsistencies. For Naka, these revealed a hidden motive on the part of the editors, whereas for Ikebe, it resulted from the ignorance of the reader.

Naka's contrast in approach to historical inquiry was reinforced in Naka's subsequent refutation of Ikebe's refutation, where he mentioned Ikebe's three sections in passing but said that he would not discuss Ikebe's summary or philological analysis of counting words because it had no direct connection to his theory.³³ On Ikebe's point that outbreaks of disease were less prevalent in the ancient period because of the archipelago's isolation, Naka objected on a textual basis because the first cited disease outbreak occurred in the reign of Emperor Sujin, before the *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki* recorded any contact with foreign nations. Ikebe would subsequently reject this, claiming that the entry in the Sujin volume was about performing a ritual to appease a god that would subsequently prevent plague, that the infrequency of recorded plagues compared to the present could still be a source of longevity, and that the entry should not be applied to the emperor himself. Further, Ikebe noted that there are examples of long-lived characters in western tradition such as Abraham and that the histories of Western countries all began with Genesis. Naka, in his further refutation, would counter back that Ikebe could not have it both ways: either plague came from foreign countries after first contact or there was a plague in the reign of Sujin.

The final words of Ikebe's last refutation and Naka's further refutation of that refutation reveal one important point about *kokugaku* as well as framing the spirit of the debate as a whole. Ikebe writes,

In reference to my theory of the foundation year, Naka wrote that, "based on my conference with numerous *kokugaku* professors etc." If he was serious about that, I cannot but be surprised at how narrow his view is. I am still an ignorant and poorly informed young person, and when I set out to draft a thesis (not limited to theses about the foundation year), I not only question the discussions of scholars of Japan, China, and the

³³ Naka Michiyo, "Nihon jōko nendai kō yoron," in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 175.

west as much as I can within the limits of time, but also consult with the ancients from hundreds or thousands of years ago, as assistance and as commentary, to firm up my own theories. This is not a quality unique to me, but just like Prof. Naka, and is as it should be. Already, regarding the foundation year, a long time ago there was *Shōkōhatsu* (1781, by Tō Teikan 藤貞幹 1732-1797), and more recently there was Tachibana's theory (Tachibana Moribe, 橘守部 1781-1849), Aston's *Ancient Japanese History*, and I think of all of them as having helped me tremendously. However, the theory presented here, though said to be produced from conferring with numerous professors, is not held at all by scholars of China or the west, nor is it the established explanation among *kokugaku* scholars. It is entirely my own opinion.³⁴

Naka replies,

Previously, as you compared me to a stone from another mountain, I dare not excuse myself from polishing my own jewel (cultivating myself). If you desire it, please become a stone from another mountain for me. For the purposes of scholarship, if we research cooperatively, I have no concern that it would be like arguing over whose field to water during a drought.³⁵ It may be that after repetition, denunciation, and attack, we will finally polish off the beautiful jewel of truth. Perhaps (Ikebe) Yoshikata will truly become my good friend.³⁶

As seen in Ikebe's statement, we should be wary of following Takagi in clumping *kokugaku* scholars in this period into one homogenous group, even though Naka does just that in 1889. Ikebe makes it clear that he is not only working from Edo-period *kokugaku* sources but also incorporating recent work like Aston. Naka's response shows that we should not assume that relations between scholars coming out of *kokugaku* traditions and positivist historians were always contentious. More importantly, Naka's proposal illustrates the concerns surrounding the facticity of the *Nihon shoki* that arose in the mid-Meiji period and the relationship between the *Nihon shoki* and the nation-state. Naka's rearrangement of the *Nihon shoki* chronology represents not only an attempt to update the *Nihon shoki* in order to reflect a notion of shared history across

³⁴ Ikebe Yoshikata, "Futatabi Naka shi no bakuron ro bakusu," in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 199-200.

³⁵ A pointless argument.

³⁶ Naka Michiyo, "Jōko nendai kō yoron zokuhen," in *Nihon kinen ronsan*, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke (Tōkai shobō, 1947), 208.

East Asia but moves to create space for the *Nihon shoki* to be a history of the Japanese people, not just the imperial house.

Kume Kunitake and the Metaphorical Reading of the Divine Age

Where Naka limited his focus to human events, Kume Kunitake attempted to include the entries in the divine age volumes of *Nihon shoki* in his reimagination of ancient Japan. As criticized by Takagi, Kume's methodology lay in treating the actions of the gods as metaphors for human action, or more directly, by imaging that the gods were humans. Kume used this methodology to reset the timeline and geography of *Nihon shoki* and create a new theory of East Asian relations based on a "three-country union (三国聯合) of the Japanese archipelago, Korean peninsula, and eastern coast of China. Stefan Tanaka has noted Kume's thalassocracy as an example of the debate over Japanese origins and the validity of *Nihon shoki* as a historical source in the mid-Meiji period.³⁷ Close comparison here will show that the thalassocracy, as well as a securing of the ancient Japanese people as an ethnic group, is based on a euhemeristic method that combines *Nihon shoki*, *Kojiki*, and *Shinsen shōjiroku* at its base then brings in continental sources as corroborating evidence.

The most straightforward example of how Kume would reinterpret *Nihon shoki* appears in the 1890 *Kōhon kokushi gan* (*View on the National History*, 稿本国史眼), a sweeping history of Japan beginning with the age of the gods. Shigeno Yasutsugu (重野安繹, 1827-1910), the head of the Historiographical Institute, Kume, and Hoshino edited the volume, though material on the ancient period corresponds with articles published contemporaneously by Kume and Hoshino so it is likely they were the primary contributors for these sections. The text would go

³⁷ Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (University of California Press, 1993), 71-75.

through several reprints and be used as a textbook for the History department at the Imperial University. Because it describes the Korean peninsula as a Japanese territory in the ancient period, it has also been addressed by Korean history scholars in connection to the Korea-Japan same race theory (日鮮同祖論), beginning with Hatada Takashi (旗田巍, 1908-1994).³⁸ While it followed the chronology in the *Nihon shoki*, thus eliding the controversy that surrounded Naka's essay, it notes in the front matter that the average reign length from Jinmu to Sushun (d. 592 C.E.) was fifty-seven years, but from the adoption of the calendar in the reign of Suiko (604 C.E.) until Keiō 2 (1866), the average reign length was twenty-eight years. This allowed the editors to point obliquely at the chronological issues in *Nihon shoki* without directly rejecting them. The text would subsequently undergo heavy criticism following Kume's forced resignation from his university post.

Kokushi gan opens with the following:

Chapter 1: Age of No Division between Gods and Man (神人無別の世)

National history begins with Izanaki and Izanami. These two descended to Onogorojima; this is the island of Awaji. The built an eight-*hiro* hall and resided there. Then they gave birth to the eight-island country. The eight islands are Awaji, Iyo (two islands), Tsukushi, Iki, Tsushima, Oki, Sado, and Yamato. The people (*kokumin*) already developed before this national history began.³⁹

From the title, the initial thrust of *Kokushi gan*'s approach to the divine age, that the gods are stand-ins for human actors, is clear. While the divine age is included in the national history, it does not begin with a creation narrative, such as the division of yin and yang or spontaneous generation in the high heavenly plain as seen in *Nihon shoki* or *Kojiki*. Gods before Izanaki and

³⁸ Hatada's *Nihonjin no chōsen kan* (Keisō shobō, 1969), raises *Kokushigan* as an example of the same-race theory for the Meiji period. Hatada continues to be widely cited in English-language publications such as Tanaka (1993), Pai, (2000), Schmid (2002), and Em (2013).

³⁹ Shigeno, Kume, and Hoshino, *Kōhon kokushi gan*, 1 front – 1 reverse.

Izanami are omitted, creating a paradox when these gods, such as Takamimusubi, appear later in *Kokushi gan*. Further, the people of the nation are wedged into the national history prior to Izanaki and Izanami's actual creation of the archipelago, serving to secure the position and existence of the people in the divine period. This is again paradoxical in that the archipelago itself would not have existed following *Kokushi gan*'s narrative, but it appears that ensuring the people were a part of the national history trumped writing an orderly sequence of events. As Kōnoshi Takamitsu has noted, neither *Kojiki* nor *Nihon shoki* is a history of the Japanese people; the actual denizens of the archipelago only appear in the narrative when they are directly involved in some action of the gods or emperor.⁴⁰ The addition of the people is entirely new.

Kokushi gan's creation of a thalassocracy rests on a metaphorical reading of Izanaki's investiture of lands to his children and a combination of historical sources that allows the overlap of Izanaki's three children with the children of Fukiaezu, Jinmu's father. *Kokushi gan* states:

Izanaki and Izanami gave birth to three children. The oldest Ōhirume was made to rule the high heavenly plain. She shined with a piercing brilliance. Therefore she was styled Amateru Ōmikami. The second child Tsukuyomi was made to rule the night country (夜国). The third child Susano-o was made to rule the sea plain (海原). The sea plain is Korea.⁴¹

The initial statement that Izanaki and Izanami gave birth to three children is from the main version of the *Nihon shoki*; the variant texts in *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* describe Izanaki giving birth to these three children on his own as a result of ablution or grasping a bronze mirror. However, as Kume and Hoshino were imagining the gods as human actors, the production of offspring via human coupling, i.e. the main *Nihon shoki* version of the story, was more attractive. The description of investiture is taken from *Kojiki*. *Nihon shoki* has numerous accounts with

⁴⁰ See Kōnoshi Takamitsu, *Kojiki to Nihon shoki: tennō shinwa no rekishi* (Kōdansha gendai shinsho, 1999).

⁴¹ Shigeno, Kume, and Hoshino, *Kōhon kokushi gan*, 1 reverse.

differing places being assigned to the three children, but only the *Kojiki* assigns the “sea plain” to Susano-o, and establishing that connection was critical to the world view that Kume and Hoshino were advancing because it would allow a new interpretation of a later section of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* as well as solidify a connection between Susano-o and the peninsula.

Importantly, *Kojiki* itself does not mention any earthly realm being assigned to these three offspring; the sea plain is the domain of the sea god, as seen in the story of Jinmu’s grandfather Hikohohodemi, who goes there to retrieve a lost fishhook. Upon his return, the pass leading to the sea plain is blocked off, severing the connection to this world. The central reed plain, corresponding to the earthly realm, is not completely created and does not yet have a governor; this is the land that will eventually be ruled by the imperial clan. The high heavenly plain, sea plain, and night country are divine realms not of this world. In contrast, *Nihon shoki* assigns both Amaterasu (Ōhirume) and Tsukuyomi to heaven and banishes Susano-o; neither the sea plain nor the night country is identified in the main narrative or assigned a governor. Hence, the account in *Kokushi gan* is an amalgamation of the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* narratives combined with the idea that the worlds being described are not divine realms but rather parts of the human world.

The relationship between Susano-o and Korea arises from one of the variant texts in the *Nihon shoki*, section eight version four. Where the main narrative sees Susano-o, expelled from heaven for bad behavior, descend to Izumo in western Japan, version four notes that he first descended to Soshimori in Silla, built a boat, and crossed over to Izumo by sea.⁴² *Kokushi gan* uses its interpretation of “sea plain” as Korea and describes the relationship as follows:

⁴² There is a longstanding relationship between Susano-o, Korea, and Izumo based on the *Izumo no kuni fudoki* and medieval Buddhist practice as well as this *Nihon shoki* variant. See James Grayson, “Susano-o: A Culture Hero from Korea,” *Japan Forum* 14, no. 3 (2002): 465–487 and Sujung Kim, “Transcending Locality, Creating Identity: Shinra Myōjin, a Korean Deity in Japan” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014).

Upon this, Susano-o was banished. He went to Izumo and defeated and pacified the brigands. He obtained a precious sword, which he gave to the great Goddess (Amaterasu): this sword is the blade Kusanagi. Then he ruled from Suga in Izumo. He gave birth to Ōkuninushi and then went to Korea.⁴³

Where the *Nihon shoki* variant has Susano-o originally land in Korea and then cross over to Japan, *Kokushi gan* claims that he went from Japan to Korea; Kume and Hoshino reversed the order of events.

The reason for the rereading of the sea plain as Korea and reordering of Susano-o's descent becomes apparent when *Kokushi gan* discusses the children of Fukiaezu, father of the first Japanese emperor Jinmu.

Fukiaezu married Tamayoribime and gave birth to four children. The first was Itsuse. The second was Inahi. The next was Mikenu. The youngest was Iwarehiko. Inahi dwelt in his mother's country, the sea plain. He was the founder of Silla. Mikenu crossed the sea and went to Tokoyo. Itsuse and Iwarehiko dwelt in Takachiho.⁴⁴

Because *Kokushi gan* takes the sea plain as Korea, the implication is that Inahi dwelt in Korea and then became the founder of the dynasty that ruled the state of Silla. The phrasing of "mother's country" is taken from the *Kojiki*, where Inahi "went into the sea plain, the country of his mother." Tamayoribime was the daughter of the sea god, and the implication is that Inahi returned to the sea god's palace which, in the *Kojiki*, is an otherworldly place reached by crossing the ocean. *Nihon shoki* gives a slightly different account, in which Inahi, beset by troubles at sea, exclaims "'Alas! My ancestors are of the heavenly gods, but my mother's side is descended from the god of the sea. Why did I meet trouble on land, only to again have troubles at sea?'" Then unsheathing his sword he went into the sea." In *Nihon shoki*, the sea god's palace is

⁴³ Shigeno, Kume, and Hoshino, *Kōhon kokushi gan*, 2 front.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 3 reverse.

at the bottom of the ocean, so Inahi is diving off the boat into the water. In both *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, Inahi leaves the human world and is never heard from again.

Kokushi gan's position that Inahi became the king of Silla is based on the ninth century *Shinsen shōjiroku*, a early name register. This document has an entry for an unranked clan connected to the imperial line, the Shiraki, with a note saying that this clan went to Silla and became that country's ruler, and that Inahi went to Silla and joined lines with Silla's king. The potential cross-reference is first picked up by Norinaga, who cites *Shōjiroku* but says that the order of brothers is wrong; Inahi's brother Mikenu, which *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* record as going to Tokoyo (常世), is actually the one who became king of Silla, hence Tokoyo is Silla. Norinaga also proposes that the etymology of Tokoyo is "far age" (遠世) and that it simply means someplace far away, so other places that the word appears in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* may not necessarily refer to Silla. Further, he claimed that the other brother, Inahi, went into the ocean, presumably to the palace of the sea king, which, following *Nihon shoki*, is at the bottom of the sea in Norinaga's imagination of the world. In contrast, *Kokushi gan* reads this supernatural event as a metaphor for going to Korea and overlaps the realm of Susano-o, the sea plain, with that of Inahi.

Where *Kokushi gan*, as a textbook, tends to simplification, a series of articles Kume published in 1889-1890 provide a more detailed look at how he was formulating this reading of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*. "Nihon fukuin no engan" (Extent of Japan's Development), which appeared across the first three issues of *Shigakkai zasshi* (史学会雑誌, later 史学雑誌), argues for a three-country union (三土聯合) of Japan, Korea, and Fujian.⁴⁵ For Kume, this is clear from *Kojiki* which divided these three countries between Amaterasu, Tsukuyomi, and Susano-o. These

⁴⁵ Kume Kunitake, "Nihon fukuin no engan," *Shigakkai zasshi* 1,2,3 (1889-1890).

countries would then be ruled by Jinmu and his brothers Inahi and Mikenu. Because the *Nihon shoki* descriptions of where these gods and demi-gods went differ, for example, saying that Mikenu went to the bottom of the ocean, Kume suggests that the text was corrupted by Shinto influence. He also rejects Norinaga's thesis that the reference to Tokoyo in the Sujin volume of *Nihon shoki* refers to Silla. This entry says that Emperor Sujin sent Tajimamori to Tokoyo to bring back the fruit of everlasting life, the *tachibana* (橘). Tachibana also refers to a type of citrus, and Kume believed that Korea was too cold for citrus to grow, so Tokoyo must refer to someplace in the south. Thus, Inahi must have, as claimed in *Shōjiroku*, gone to Silla and Mikenu to some southern locale.⁴⁶

Kume advances a much more detailed thesis regarding Mikenu in “Nihon fukuin” than seen in *Kokushi gan*. First, Kume uses a reference to the “long-crying birds of Tokoyo” (*Kojiki* 常世長鳴鳥, *Nihon shoki* 常世之長鳴鳥), who were forced to cry as part of the strategy to lure Amaterasu out of the heavenly rock cave, to assert that Tokoyo was a place of darkness. This is also a pun on the word “Tokoyo,” which could be written using the characters for “eternal night” (常夜).⁴⁷ Kume associates this with the setting sun, indicating that Tokoyo must be somewhere to the west. Then, Kume brings in the Tajimamori episode from *Nihon shoki*. First, as mentioned earlier, Tajimamori was seeking a kind of citrus, meaning that Tokoyo is to the south, which combined with the setting sun gives south-west. Then, he uses the geographical description of Tokoyo from Tajimamori's report, which claimed that to get there Tajimamori “crossed waves of 10,000 *ri*, and crossed the rivers of Yowanomizu. The country called Tokoyo is hidden by the

⁴⁶ Kume, “Nihon fukuin no engan,” *Shigaku zasshi* 1 (1889): 16.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

gods and sages, and normal people cannot come to it.”⁴⁸ Kume asserts that units of distance in the ancient period were longer than in the present, so 10,000 *ri* should be closer to 1,000 *ri*. Kume further claims the river Tajimamori crossed was the Pearl, and that the divine area he encountered referred to a mountainous enclosure, in this case the Qinling mountains. The Minyue ethnic group that inhabited the Fujian area in ancient times would then be Mikenu’s people, a bizarre conclusion resulting from a massive pile-up of metaphorical reading and circumstantial evidence. Finally, Kume returns to the original three children of Izanaki. As Tsukuyomi is a moon god associated with the night and was charged with the governing of the night-country, and because the night-country is Tokoyo, Tsukuyomi and Mikenu governed the same place. Coupled with Inahi and Susano-o governing Korea and Amaterasu and Jinmu governing Japan, the charges of the three children of Izanaki overlap perfectly with the lands ruled by Jinmu and his brothers, completing the three-country union.

Kume’s reordering of the geography of *Nihon shoki* to match locations in the human world was accompanied by an adjustment to the chronology of the text. Naka’s suggestion of averaging reign lengths was mentioned above, and Kume followed the same general principle, writing:

After Jinmu moved the capital the eastern regions were under imperial governance, and facing west, there should be a history about the intimate connections with Korea and Tokoyo. However, because seven or eight generations of this history are missing, there is no way now to know, but by-and-large the end of the three-country union should fall at the end of this period. Generally in historical records the fate of the world shifts after nine generations of father to son. For example, from our later era, the Tokugawa stretched for ten generations and 260 years, the Ashikaga fell after nine generations and 240 years...⁴⁹

Kume goes on at length with different examples but the gist is that eight to nine generations is about how long government administrations tend to last. Unfortunately, as Kume notes, or

⁴⁸ Tajimamori’s report is given at the end of the Sujin volume of *Nihon shoki*. The event occurs in the following year, Keikō 1, but is placed here to emphasize Tajimamori’s loyalty to Sujin.

⁴⁹ Kume, “Nihon fukuin no engan,” *Shigaku zasshi* 2 (1890): 12.

perhaps conveniently, the eight generations of emperors after Jinmu in *Nihon shoki* have almost no information, giving Kume a blank slate to work with. Like Naka, Kume disbelieved the superhuman lifespans accorded to these figures, but he focused on adjusting the chronology to fit his three-country union. He suggested that averaging the twenty-two reigns between Jinmu and Sushun (died 592) to thirty years each would put the foundation of Japan by Jinmu at 69 B.C.E, and averaging them to twenty-five years would put it at 42 C.E. Kume asserts that this is around the same time then that Jinmu's brother Inahi became king of Silla and toppled Gija Chosŏn.⁵⁰ He also notes the Han Chinese abandonment of annexing Hainan in 46 B.C.E. due to rebellions and the connection between the Li people of Hainan and the Yue of Fujian and that the Southern Yue capital where Mikenu would have ruled from should be in Guangdong.⁵¹ Kume thereby combines the average reign length for Japan with records of disturbances on the peninsula and in southern China to find support for his "three-country union" theory.

It is of note that where other theorists of Japanese origins, such as Shiratori and Inoue, changed their positions over time, Kume took Korean annexation as a validation of his original position. His resilience is reflected in a lecture he gave at the Historiographical Society less than two months after annexation and published the following year across two issues of *Shigaku zasshi*. The article, "Wakan tomo ni Nihon shinkoku naru o ronzu" (Theory that Wa and Kan were both the Divine Country of Japan, 倭韓共に日本神国なるを論ず), reintroduces Kume's earlier argument but introduces new context from the events of 1890-1910. Put shortly, Kume believed that "because originally Japan and Korea were one country, in the present though words

⁵⁰ Silla is traditionally dated from 57 B.C.E. The existence of Gija Chosŏn is hotly debated, but would have dates from the eleventh-century B.C.E. fall of the Shang dynasty until 147 B.C.E.

⁵¹ Kume, "Nihon fukuin no engan," *Shigaku zasshi* 2 (1890): 15-16.

like annexation are used, it is in truth a restoration.”⁵² This one country existed until the reign of emperor Tenji (r. 661-671), when it was broken up due to Chinese interference. While Japan continued to develop, Korean development was stifled until Japan’s victory in the Sino-Japanese war and Russo-Japanese war paved the way for Korea to return to its “divine country” status. Kume also notes the need for his thesis to be recognized by the countries of the west, explicitly linking his theory to a justification for imperial expansion.

The article begins with a history of the Historiographical Society, the *Shigaku zasshi* magazine, and Kume’s involvement with it. Kume recalls his first series of articles in *Shigaku zasshi*, “Thoughts on the Extent of Japan’s Development.” Importantly, Kume also notes that one reason his thesis had not become generally accepted was alternative ways of reading *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.

Then as my first work for *Shigakkai zasshi*, I presented to the world new research on ancient Japan and its relations with surrounding countries. With the intention of introducing a current of thought that characterizes an open country, *Thoughts on the Extent of Japan’s Development* was serialized in the first three issues of the magazine. In that article, I directly proved that Japan and Korea were originally one country, but it is the height of stupidity that now, twenty years later, the world still does not understand this. Already at that time Japan and Korea’s international relations were gradually growing closer to each other, but the intellectual position of *kokugaku* scholars was completely unaware of the times and took a direction antithetical to the opening of the country. They took the matters related to the gods from the divine age volumes and the spirit of words (*kotodama*) of the *Man’yōshū* like it were Buddhist sutras or Confucian classics, and made the assumption that these form a basis and are of critical importance, even treating them as if there were part of a Buddhist initiation and that other people could not speak imprudently about them. When scholars of Classical China talk about ancient history, they sneer from on high and begrudge it, and insist that in particular matters related to the gods are problematic.”⁵³

⁵² Kume Kunitake, “Wakan tomo ni Nihon shinkoku naru o ronzu,” *Shigaku zasshi* 22-1(1910), 47-48.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 51.

Kume's opinion has not moved at all from when he first published *Thoughts* in 1889. Moreover, he directly attributes the difference between his position as a historian and *kokugaku* and *kanbungaku* scholars as one of how to read the divine age volumes of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*.

The details of Kume's argument, which relies on the three children of Izanaki and of Fukiaezu ruling the same three realms, also remains the same.

About Inahi and Mikenu, it is written that "Mikenu tread on the waves and crossed over to Tokoyo, Inahi went to his mother's country, the sea plain." Looking at this, we see that at that time the three countries of Japan, Tokoyo, and the sea plain were jointly ruled. These are Jinmu's brothers so they are humans, and Tokoyo and the sea plain are actual places. This sentence is an important historical vestige of the boundary at the end of the divine age when gods became human. Bear in mind that this matches up with when Izanaki performed ablution at Kashiwara in Tsukushi, in his order for his three children to rule over various lands. "Amaterasu governed the high heavenly plain, Tsukuyomi ruled the night country, and Susano-o ruled the sea plain." One of Jinmu's brothers living in Tokoyo is the same as Tsukuyomi's ruling over the night country, so the night country is Tokoyo, and Inahi's sea plain is the same as Susano-o's sea plain, but where is that? In *Shinsen shōjiroku* in the *sakyō kōbestu* section for the ancestor of the Shiraki clan it says "Son of Ugayafukiaezu, Inahi. He went to Silla and ruled" etc. So the clan called Shiraki is descended from the ruler of Silla and we have clear, definitive proof that the sea plain is Korea.⁵⁴

It is of note that one point has changed from *Kokushi gan*: here Kume references Izanaki's ablution, rather than claiming that Amaterasu and her siblings were born of a union between Izanaki and Izanami. That is to say, he has dropped the main narrative from the *Nihon shoki* and is now relying entirely on the *Kojiki* for his reading of the divine period. He also refers to Jinmu's generation as the boundary between the gods and humans, at which point the gods became human, implying that he is now clearly considering Izanaki and Izanami as gods. However, their actions are still being taken as a metaphor for the division of the realm between Jinmu and his brothers.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 52.

The article continues in the same vein, also citing an article by Hoshino that will be discussed later, before branching out to give ten reasons why Wa (倭) and Kan (韓) are the same. These largely specious reasons primarily relate to ruling and ritual practice that Kume believes to be held in common by the ancient Japanese and ancient Koreans, and Kume emphasizes that these “shared” rituals mean that Korea is also the land of the gods. He ends the article on a prescriptive note, saying that shrines need to be built on the peninsula to resurrect the single divine country he imagines existed until the seventh century and the people of the peninsula converted to Shinto.⁵⁵

Kume’s position is also represented in a 1905 Japanese history published by Waseda University which would later form the first volume of the Waseda history curriculum textbook series, *Dainippon jidai shi* (History of Japanese Eras). The series was published in ten volumes, with Kume in charge of the volumes on ancient Japan, the Nara period, and the Northern-Southern court period.⁵⁶ The front matter of the first volume has a facsimile and pictures of the Kwanggaet’o Stele and a fold-out map of northeast Asia, with points of historical interest, like Izumo or Minyue, marked in red. Chapter three, section eleven of the work is titled “Period of Control of the Three-country Union” (三土聯合時代の統轄), the same phrase that appeared in “Nihon fukuin” twenty-five years earlier. The metaphorical use of *Nihon shoki* grew in the 1915 expanded version, where Kume claims that “based on the metaphors of night country, sea plain, and leech child in ancient histories, we proved that the ancient territory of Japan was a combination of Minyue, Korea, and the southwest of the archipelago.”⁵⁷ Discussion of

⁵⁵ Ibid., 19.

⁵⁶ Kume Kunitake, *Nihon kodai shi* (Waseda University Press, 1907).

⁵⁷ Kume Kunitake, *Dai nihon jidai shi I* (Waseda University Press, 1915), 40.

Hikohohodemi and Hoderi says, “Yamanosachi is a metaphor for mountain villages, and Uminosachi is a metaphor for sea villages.”⁵⁸

While Kume focuses his 1910 excoriations, as always, on the *kokugaku* scholars, his metaphorical reading of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* was being actively challenged by the next generation. Takagi first began criticizing Kume in the article *On the Kojiki*, but a more pointed criticism of Kume’s methodology appeared the following year, 1913, “Densetsu no shiteki hyōka o ronjite iwayuru gōriteki kaishaku no bō o benzu” (Theory on Historical Evaluation of Legends and Statement on the Fallacy of So-called Rational Interpretation).

At any rate, metaphorical writing is writing that uses metaphor to write historical facts, so the indispensable condition is the existence of historical facts in the background. If those historical facts are denied, the metaphor cannot but lose its existence...Metaphorical writings...cannot exist apart from historical fact. Therefore proving the existence of historical fact is a condition for the establishment of metaphor, and theorizing that such-and-such historical facts must have happened is putting the cart before the horse.⁵⁹

Takagi is saying that while it would be plausible to take known historical facts and connect them to metaphorical writings, but that taking the purported metaphor and abstracting historical facts from it is fallacious because the facts in question have never been proved independently.

Takagi’s points would form one point of a new way to read *Nihon shoki*, as mythology, that would be advanced by Tsuda. However, as noted by Hatada, Kume’s interpretation would also form the basis for the theory of shared racial lineage by Koreans and Japanese and in turn be a narrative for justifying annexation of the peninsula. Kume’s theory used metaphorical reading to reconcile the locations in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* with the geography of the present world and the chronology of the *Nihon shoki* with historical records from other East Asian states. He

⁵⁸ Ibid., 7.

⁵⁹ Takagi Toshio, “Densetsu no shiteki hyōka o ronjite iwayuru gōriteki kaishaku no bō o benzu,” *Reikishi chiri* 22-1 (1913): 42.

also ensured the uniqueness of the Japanese people as an ethnic group from the ancient period, providing an origin narrative for the modern nation-state rooted in antiquity. The variant narratives in the *Nihon shoki*, as well as the alternative accounts in *Kojiki* and *Shinsen shōjiroku*, created the interpretive space for Kume to weave together a new logic that appeared, on the surface, to be document-based positivism, but which in reality was based on forced readings and interpretive trickery.

Ōkubo Yoshiharu and the *kokugaku* Response to Kume

As could be expected from seeing the debate surrounding Naka's earlier publication, Kume met stiff resistance, especially from religious fundamentalists. A direct challenge to *Kokushi gan* came from the Shinto scholar Ōkubo Yoshiharu. Ōkubo is not particularly well-known in Japanese scholarship, and biographical information is scant. However, judging from both the large number of critiques he authored leveled at Kume as well as the responses he received by prominent scholars such as Taguchi Ukichi (田口 卯吉 1855-1905), he was taken seriously at the time. Kume initially attracted attention for an 1892 article "Shinto is a Primitive Form of Heaven-worship," and ended up being forced to resign his post at the Imperial University because of it. The incident itself is well-described in numerous Japanese and English sources; in short, Kume criticized Shinto because it was "nothing more than ancient nature worship and had not developed religious importance in the Western sense."⁶⁰ With regard to *Kokushi gan*, what is more important is the timing: Kume drew fire from Ōkubo and others after publishing his article on Shinto, two years after *Kokushi gan* was written. The catalyst for

⁶⁰ Brownlee, *Japanese Historians*, 98. For a further discussion of the incident see de Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann (2001) pg 1232, Burns (2003) pg 193-195 and Brownlee (1997) pg 92-106.

criticism of *Kokushi gan* was not the material itself but rather Kume's connection to its production.

In a series of editorials in *Chūō shinbun*, Ōkubo began going after Kume as well as Taguchi; the latter had reprinted Kume's article on Shinto in his own journal *Shikai*.⁶¹ However, his most pointed and direct criticism was a two-part article in the journal *Meijikai sōshi* (明治会叢誌) from November and December of 1892. Ōkubo summarizes his criticisms of *Kokushi gan* in nine points:

One, it takes the emperors to be humans. Two, it takes Izanaki and Izanami to have come after the people came into existence. Three, it twists the national history and makes the sea plain into Korea. Four, it misunderstands the national scriptures and doubts the facticity of the oath of the sword and jewels. Fifth, it speaks carelessly of imperial authority. Sixth, it mistakes the imperial ancestor's divine pronouncement and twists the origin of the names of the imperial entombments. Seventh, it mistakes the primary significance of revering the gods and shrines and equivocates about the imperial ancestor's divine pronouncement. Eighth, it makes vague the imperial descendant's marriage relations and also eliminates the imperial descendant. Ninth, it makes the mother of the founder of the imperial family a foreigner and mistakes the sea god, creating a "sea country."⁶²

The second point, that Izanaki and Izanami appear after the people of the country, appeared in the beginning of *Kokushi gan* and served to secure the position of the Japanese in the ancient period. However, Ōkubo takes Izanaki and Izanami as creation deities, and for him it follows that the humans must have been created after the world itself. More importantly, for Ōkubo, the uniqueness of the Japanese is derived from the divinity of the emperor, and he is not concerned with placing Japan within an international system of nation-states as seen, for example, in Naka's motivations for remaking the *Nihon shoki* chronology.

On the relation between the sea plain and Korea, Ōkubo lists all of the different *Nihon shoki* variants, the *Kojiki*, and the *Kogo shūi* (古語拾遺, 807) versions of Susano-o's descent and

⁶¹ Ōkubo's editorials appear in the 1892 *Chūō shinbun* for April 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 26, and May 4.

⁶² Ōkubo Yoshiharu, "Kokushi gan hihyō," *Meijikai sōshi* 49 (1892): 33-34.

asserts that the numerous places Susano-o goes to or is supposed to rule cannot all possibly be referring to Korea. Where Kume combined only two discreet narratives, from a *Nihon shoki* variant and from the *Kojiki*, to create a new one, Ōkubo is seeking a totalizing theory that would explain all of the variants in *Nihon shoki* as well as *Kojiki* and *Kogo shūi*. He notes that abstracting that the “sea plain” that Inahi goes to as Korea is a further misunderstanding and, more importantly, that this would mean that Jinmu’s mother was Korean, a heretical notion for someone invested in the divinity of the imperial personage.⁶³

Ōkubo’s own method of reading *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* is not made entirely clear in his criticism of Kume, but given his exhaustive citations of every *Nihon shoki* variant as well as *Kojiki* and *Kogo shūi*, it follows that he would seek a comprehensive reading that would include or explain every portion of every version. Such an approach is seen in a work he published only five years earlier, in 1888, *Shinten giwaku mondō* (Questions and Answers on the Scriptures).⁶⁴ The majority of this is a response to theological issues raised by potential doubters in a dialogue format, each beginning with something like “a Christian asks” or “a philosopher asks.” When dealing with inconsistencies that arise in the “scriptures” due to differences across *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* versions, Ōkubo mixes and matches the texts to produce a single linear narrative, the same reading style seen in Iida Takesato’s 1892 commentary on the *Nihon shoki* or Atsutane’s *Koshiden* (Figure 1).⁶⁵ The page shown below opens with the *Nihon shoki*, then adds a section from the *Kojiki*, a section from a *Nihon shoki* variant, goes back to the *Kojiki*, back to another

⁶³ Ibid., 30-31.

⁶⁴ Ōkubo Yoshiharu, *Shinten giwaku mondō* (Ōkubo Yoshiharu, 1888).

⁶⁵ See Iida Takesato, *Nihon shoku tsūshaku* (Ōyastsushima gakkai, 1890) and Hirata Atsutane, *Koshiden* (1812-1825).

variant, to the *Kojiki*, yet another variant, and then back to the *Kojiki* to create one narrative that can be read straight through.

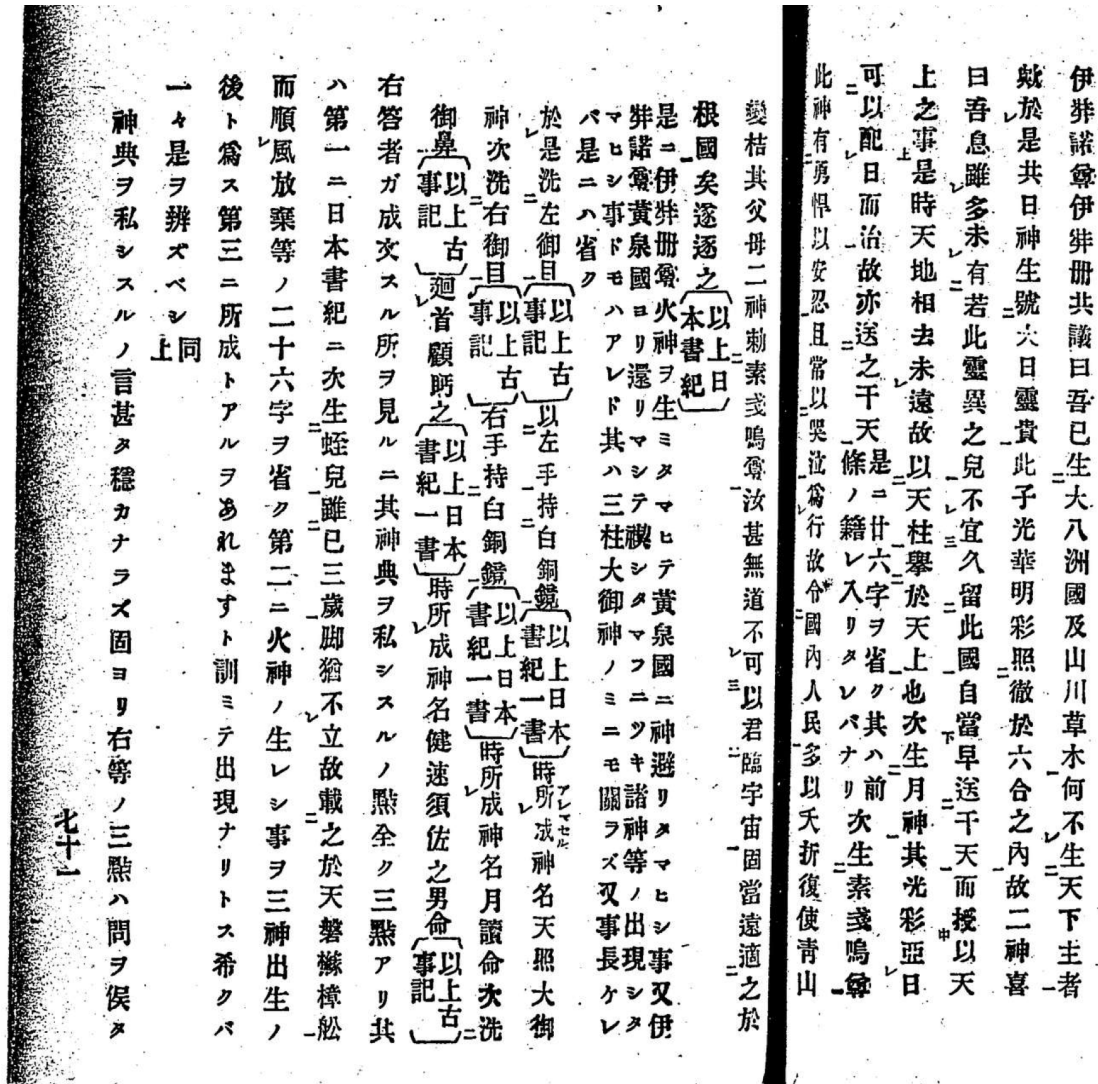


Figure 1. From Ōkubo Yoshiharu's *Shinten giwaku mondō*, 1888. Note the sections in brackets on the left page that “stitch” together variant accounts.

Kusaka Hiroshi (日下寛, 1852-1926), a scholar of the Chinese Classics heavily influenced by the Shingeo and Kume's brand of positivism, would respond to Ōkubo's critique in an aggressive defense of *Kokushi gan* in February of 1893. Kusaka writes that Ōkubo's critique is not worthy of being called such, is really just a collection of nonsensical letters that

should be burnt and discarded, and that Ōkubo does not have the opinion of even someone with basic academic training.⁶⁶ More pointedly, Kusaka writes that Ōkubo's criticisms arise because "he has not read the entirety of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* thoroughly."⁶⁷ For example, on the Susano-o and Korea connection, Kusaka writes, "Sea plain, Ne no Kuni, Haha no kuni; that these all refer to the area of Korea is well-known by many people. Despite this, Ōkubo, while citing these sources, says that calling the sea-plain Korea is twisting the national history and is a self-contradiction."⁶⁸

Ōkubo would respond to Kusaka in the journal *Kokkō* (国光), largely repeating his previous points. He closes his response by reminding the reader of Kume's problematic article "Shinto is a Primitive Form of Heaven-worship" and implies that since Kume also edited *Kokushi gan*, that the text is essentially guilty by association.⁶⁹ He goes on to suggest that the editor of *Shigaku zasshi*, Shigeno, had been the brains behind Kusaka's response. There are two important take-aways to this debate. First, as is made clear by Kusaka, the reading and reception of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* were the terms in which debates about the national polity were made in and form the parameters for the scholarly opinions discussed above. This also accounts for the wide variance in wording related to these texts seen in this period: for Ōkubo, they are "scripture" (神典), for Ikebe, who had responded to Naka's new chronology, they are "letters" or "national letters" (文学・国民文学), and for Kume and Naka, they are "national history" (国史). It is precisely for this reason that *Nihon shoki* reception can function as a lens for understanding

⁶⁶ Kusaka Hiroshi, "Ōkubo Yoshiharu shi no *Kokushi gan* hihiyō wo yomu," *Shigaku zasshi* 4-39 (1893): 57.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 59.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 60.

⁶⁹ Ōkubo Yoshiharu, "*Kokushi gan* hihiyō no hanbaku sha ni tsugu," *Kokkō* 5-10 (1893): 61.

scholarly positions in this period. Moreover, the variance in styles of readings stems largely from *Nihon shoki*'s inclusion of variant texts, which provided space for these commentators to reinterpret the text as it suited them.

Secondly, Ōkubo allows a glimpse into the breadth of the *kokugaku* style of reading ancient texts that Takagi summarized in one sentence and was noted at the beginning of this chapter. Compared to Ikebe, who would also have been considered a *kokugaku* scholar, Ōkubo is doing a very different reading of ancient texts, which to him are “scripture.” In present scholarship, this implies that the antagonism posited between *kokugaku* scholars and historians has an additional level of nuance. For example, while Konakamura lobbied for Kume's removal, presumably behind the scenes, scholars interested in theology were rebuking him publicly.⁷⁰ This is also clear when comparing the vitriolic position taken by Ōkubo with the friendly debate between Naka and Ikebe, to which we could add Konakamura's numerous publications in the Historiographical Society's journal *Shigakkai zasshi* or Shigeno Yasutsugu's membership in the *kokugaku*-oriented *Oyashima gakkai*.

Hoshino Hisashi and the Korean Peninsula

Kume's claim that the sea plain refers to Korea and that Susano-o and Inahi once ruled the Korean peninsula is placed in a more positivist framework by Hoshino Hisashi in his “Honpō no jinshu gengo ni tsuite hikō o nobete yo no shinshin aikokusha ni shissu” (Stating Common Thoughts Concerning Our Country's Race and Language and Questioning True Patriots of the Age).⁷¹ Hoshino agrees with Kume completely on the metaphorical elements, but performs an in-

⁷⁰ Burns, *Before the Nation*, 195.

⁷¹ Hoshino Hisashi, “Honpō no jinshu gengo ni tsuite hikō o nobete yo no shinshin aikokusha ni shissu,” *Shigakkai zasshi* 11 (1890).

depth analysis of *Nihon shoki* with reference to the Korean peninsula, arriving at the conclusion, as seen in Kume's essays, that Japan and Korea were part of the same country in the ancient period.

The first part of his analysis centers on Soshimori (曾尸茂梨), where in *Nihon shoki* variant 8:4, Susano-o descends to from heaven. Hoshino puts together the *Yasaka sha kyūki shūroku* (八坂社旧記集録, 1870), *Nihon shoki*, and *Tōgoku tsugan* (東国通鑑, fifteenth century) to arrive at the conclusion that “Soshimori” is a composite of Korean “syosi” (cow) and “mori” (head), and that Soshimori therefore refers to “cow head mountain” (牛頭山、牛首山). Hoshino claims that this mountain is located in Ch'unchōn, Kangwŏn province, and this also explains the connection between Susano-o and the Buddhist deity Gozutennō (牛頭天王).⁷² The importance of Yasaka shrine largely postdates *Nihon shoki*, and Gozutennō is an eclectic mix of many different Buddhist and Japanese deities, but as Susano-o is one of them, Hoshino was able to use this, along with an intricate analysis of where “cow head mountain” could be (it is not an uncommon place name across the peninsula), to argue for the precise location of Soshimori. Hoshino continued to use other materials like the *Shoku nihongi*, *Engi shiki*, and the *Shōjiroku* to supplement the reading of divine-age episodes from *Nihon shoki*, and further concluded that the god Oshihomimi, the father of Ninigi, was also a god of Korean origin and that Inahi was a ruler of Silla.⁷³ He concludes by suggesting that the entirety of the divine-age volumes can be read imagining that Japan and Korea formed one country.⁷⁴ John Brownlee has discussed Hoshino's conclusions as they relate to Kume's 1892 dismissal, largely based on Kume's recollections of

⁷² Ibid., 19-20.

⁷³ Ibid., 25-26

⁷⁴ Ibid., 40-41.

the event as they appear in the introduction to his 1910 “Wakan tomo ni nihon shinkoku naru o ronzu.” Brownlee explains that stories like the variant text in which Susano-o goes to Silla, upon which Hoshino’s article was based, were not uncommon in ancient Japan and that it may have served as a model for immigration in the eighth century when immigrants from the peninsula could explain the origin of their Japanese clan names in that they were originally from the archipelago, had moved, and now were moving back.⁷⁵ In this light the Shiraki clan introduced in *Shōjiroku* comes to mind. However, it is important not to lump these texts and phenomena together: Susano-o’s movement in this *Nihon shoki* variant is from the high heavenly plain to Silla and then to Izumo, not from the archipelago and back. The variant serves to illustrate that the power of the heavenly gods extends to the peninsula and establish the peninsula’s existence in the divine age such that it can be part of the imaginary realm envisioned in *Nihon shoki*, a point that is more clear when continuing to read the following variant, which identifies the archipelago as a tributary nation. This variant being a potential immigration model should at best be reserved to Heian reception of *Nihon shoki*. The important point here is that *Nihon shoki*’s textual structure, i.e. the existence of the variant, provided the space for both the early ninth-century Shiraki clan and Hoshino’s interpretations, both of which deviate from the text itself.

At the end of the article, Hoshino appends a fold-out map of the peninsula with place-names relevant to his reading of *Nihon shoki* marked (Figure 2). The top location circled indicates where Hoshino believed the Tangun legend of the founding of Gochosŏn referred to. The middle circle is Soshimori. The bottom circle is where Hoshino claimed, based on later entries in *Nihon shoki*, that a Japanese-administrated portion of the peninsula was located.

⁷⁵ Brownlee, *Japanese Historians*, 97.

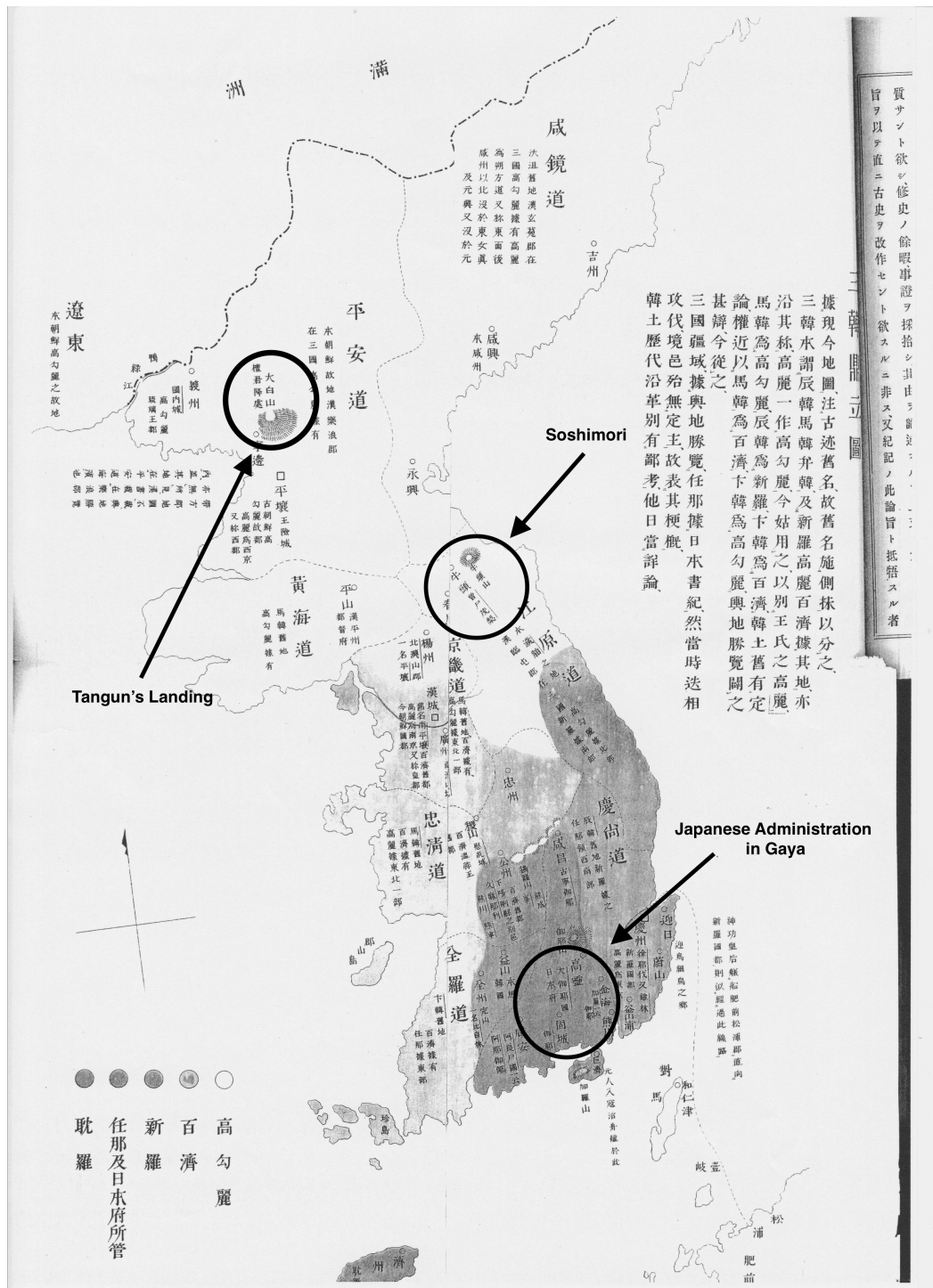


Figure 2. Map of Korea from Hoshino Hisashi's "Honpō no jinshu gengo ni tsuite hikō o nobete yo no shinshin aikokusha ni shissu," 1890.

Hoshino's theory that Japan and Korea were in fact part of the same country also served as a the basis for linguistic analysis of the two countries. The most prominent example is in the

work of the architect of the Korea-Japan same race theory, Kanazawa Shōsaburō(金沢庄三郎, 1872-1967). Kanazawa's 1910 *Nikkan ryōkokugo dōkeiron* (The Common Origins of the Japanese and Korean Languages) laid out the beginnings of his same-race theory, which began with mythology.⁷⁶ The book was published in a bilingual volume with English and Japanese, and the opening reads:

The Korean language belongs to the same family of tongues as the language of Japan: it is in fact a branch of Japanese, like the native language of the Loo-Choo Isles... That intercourse was held between the people of Japan and Korea in the earliest times is evident from the account of Prince Susano-o's descent to Soshimori in the Korean province of Silla, the allusion to a number of Korean temples in our *Engi shiki* and *Fudoki*, and the presence of the surname of Shiraki in the *Shinsen shōjiroku*. Professor Hoshino goes further: he ventures to affirm that in ancient times, Japan and Korea were not separate lands and that our Imperial ancestors ruled over Silla.⁷⁷

Kanazawa goes on to note the lack of translators in early exchanges between Japan and Paekche in the *Nihon shoki* and support for the affinity theory by Aston, Chamberlain, Shiratori, and Miyazaki Michisaburō (宮崎道三郎, 1855-1928). However, Kanazawa's introduction ends there, and mythology does not come up again. Kanazawa's theory itself rests on word pairings and grammatical similarities between the two languages. For example, he gives a word pairing for village:

Jap. *hure* — Kor. *por*.

Hure is an old Japanese word meaning 'village,' and we may find it in old geographical names *I-hare*, *Na-hori*, *Ka-heru*, *Na-bari*, *Ka-haru*, etc. In Korean, too, *pör* signifies village and is transcribed by various Chinese characters, as, 夫里, 弗, 不離, 伐, 卑離, 火, etc. From these words the system of *kohori* and *hure* seems to have been instituted in a very early time both in Korea and Japan.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Kanazawa Shōsaburō, *Nikkan ryōkokugo dōkeiron* (Sanseidō shoten, 1910). The same work was published a year earlier in a Japanese-only edition in *Tōyō kyōkai chōsabu gaku jutsu hōkoku 1* (1909).

⁷⁷ Ibid., 1-2.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 14.

In short, in 1910 Kanazawa was using Hoshino's reading of the divine-age volumes as historical truth as a jumping-off point for demonstrating a genetic relationship between the languages, even though the mythological content was not directly his object of study. Given this, citing Hoshino directly as evidence of early relations between Korea and Japan was sufficient for his theory of language affinity.

Kanazawa would not write his *Nissen dōsoron* (Theory of a Shared Ancestry between Koreans and Japanese) until almost twenty years later, but it would be both the work that defined him as a scholar and cemented the phrase "nissen dōsoron" for describing the shared ancestry theory as opposed to others circulating at the time.⁷⁹ More importantly, where his 1910 thesis had simply cited Hoshino in regards to events in the divine age, his 1929 approach incorporated a new interpretation of *Nihon shoki*. Naturally, he began with the *Nihon shoki* descriptions of Susano-o residing in Silla and the emigration of Ame no Hihoko, the earliest mythical events that concerned Korea.

There is some room for speculation about the historical truth of Ame no Hihoko in this time period, but that Susano-o led his son Itakeru and descended to Silla is a verifiable fact clearly recorded in our national history...this is only recorded in the *Nihon shoki* and is the most valuable record concerning Japan-Korea relations in the ancient period.⁸⁰

As before, *Nihon shoki*, including the volumes for the divine age, was being read as historical fact. However, Kanazawa, following Hoshino's 1890 identification of several gods who migrated from the peninsula to the archipelago, wanted to introduce a new theory that suggested that this migration applied to the heavenly deities and the Japanese people as a whole. To show this, he used an analysis of place-names; for Kanazawa, place-names revealed people movements

⁷⁹ See Ishikawa Ryōko. *Kanazawa Shōsaburō*. Minerva shobō, 2014, 233.

⁸⁰ Kanazawa Shōsaburō, *Nissen dōsoron* (Tōkō shoin, 1929), 65.

because as a group migrated they would carry the styles for naming natural features along with them.

First he modified Hoshino's theory on the location of Soshimori.

Also, Hoshino, because there is no Mt. Utu (牛頭山) in the Lelang area, says that this is probably Utubang (牛頭方) in Silla, that is to say present-day Kangwŏn province, Ch'unch'ŏn district. However, the theories described above are all in error to some degree, and Soshimori is the capital of Silla, equivalent to present-day Kyŏngsangbuk province in the Kyŏngju area.⁸¹

Where Hoshino had relied on a direct translation of "soshimori" into Korean to render "cow's head," Kanazawa attempted an etymological dissection of "soshimori," giving him "so-mori" and then "so-hori." Kanazawa proceeded to identify "sohori" in other places as well, such as in an early name for Silla "seo-beol," in the name of the last capital of Paekche "sabi," and in a Mongolian word for a person from Koguryŏ "solongŏk," leading him to conclude that the base word "sohori" was the title of a country used throughout Northeast Asia. He continued to locate this in Japanese sources, for example, in *Nihon shoki* section nine variant six, Ninigi descends to Mt. "so-ho-ri." Finally, he adds an analysis of "ku," treating it as meaning "large," and allowing him to get from "ku-so-ho-ri" to "ka-shi-wa-ra," the location of Jinmu's first capital. "Sohori" was also Korean word for a capital, as evinced by the word "Seoul." This resulted in him equating Soshimori of *Nihon shoki* with the Silla capital of Kyŏngju.

Kanazawa also reversed the descent order of Susano-o suggested in *Kokushi gan*. He wrote,

However, what I find extremely mysterious is that scholars up to now have stridently asserted that Susano-o's descent to Soshimori was not directly from the high heavenly plain but that he first descended to the eight-island country and then crossed over to Silla.⁸²

⁸¹ Ibid., 66-67.

⁸² Ibid., 69-70.

To Kanazawa, the correspondence in place names between the states on the Korean peninsula and in places given in *Nihon shoki* illustrated that the people inhabiting these areas were all of the same race. Moreover, he proposed that these people migrated from west to east, and Susano-o was an example of this. As a concept, migration from peninsula to archipelago appeared in Hoshino's article, but Kanazawa extended this to the entire people group by suggesting that the heavenly gods were gods that came from the peninsula. Speaking more generally, he imagined that the peninsula itself was part of the eight-island country described in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. Hence, the material in the divine-age volumes was a metaphor for human migration, and the place-names within it were material for a linguistic analysis which buttressed his treatment of the mythology.

Inoue Tetsujirō's Inconsistent Approach

Kokugaku scholars were not the only opponents to Kume's thesis of a thalassocracy that ethnically linked Koreans and Japanese. As Stefan Tanaka has noted, Inoue Tetsujirō responded to Kume's theory in an 1890 lecture with his own theory that posited a South Seas origin for the Japanese.⁸³ A similar theory appears in an 1892 article, "Jinshu, gengo, oyobi shūkyō nado no hikaku ni yori, Nihonjin no ichi o ronsu" (Theory on the Placement of the Japanese People Based on Race, Language, and Religion), where Inoue used anthropological, linguistic, and religious comparisons to reject a Ural-Altaic lineage for the Japanese language that had currency among many European scholars at the time. He wrote,

Many European anthropologists and comparative linguists claim that the Japanese migrated to the archipelago from the north. The number of scholars who assert this theory is quite large, to name the most important, Ernst Haeckel of Germany and Hoblark of

⁸³ Tanaka, *Japan's Orient*, 75-77.

France say with conviction such things as “the Japanese migrated from the north, that is to say they crossed over from Tartary and Liaodong after passing through Chosŏn” etc. There are many European anthropologists and comparative linguists who have adopted theses such as this, but this explanation is extremely suspect and definitely insufficient to be taken as confirmed. In the theses of European comparative linguists up to now, the language of the Japanese is made part of the language family of the Mongolian race, and many of them place it in the lineage of the so-called “Ural-Altaic” language family. Placing Japanese in the Ural-Altaic language family is jumping to conclusions, and should not be regarded with conviction. However, the reason that European scholars put Japanese in the Ural-Altaic language family is none other than from surmising the overarching character of the Ural-Altaic language family, and they state the reason [for including it in the Ural-Altaic family] as being because of the similarity of Japanese [to the other Ural-Altaic languages].⁸⁴

Inoue is arguing against prevailing trends in European scholarship, though we can presume that his rejection of a relationship between Japanese and Korean would lead him to reject Kume’s theory as well. Inoue’s critique is lodged in what he views as superficial similarities in grammar and word order between Japanese and Korean that European linguists used as evidence for a shared origin. Ideologically, his emphasis is on breaking Japan off from the rest of Asia.

Inoue did not discuss the *Kojiki* or the *Nihon shoki* in this article – his basis for determining Japanese origins fell squarely within linguistics and comparative religion. However, he does foreshadow a move toward mythology when in the last part of the piece he “wants to say a word about Japanese letters (日本の文学).”⁸⁵ He writes:

Writing (文章) is a kind of device. Just as in order for a country to be strong, even if it has an army, it needs to have an impressive army; for writing, it has to have an expedient system of writing that can promptly communicate ideas reciprocally...⁸⁶

The larger context here is that for Inoue, the Japanese writing system was overly complicated and retarding development. More important is that he was connecting his search for Japanese

⁸⁴ Inoue Tetsujirō, “Jinshu, gengo, oyobi shūkyō nado no hikaku ni yori, Nihonjin no ichi o ronsu,” *Tōhō kyōkai hōkoku* 20 (1892), 37.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 49.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 51.

origins with literature. The two come together more concretely in 1895, when he wrote “Nihon bungaku no kako oyobi shōrai” (The Past and Future of Japanese Literature) in the first three issues of *Teikoku bungaku*. He continues the parallel between military force and written material seen above, but here places more emphasis on literature as a measuring stick for the advancement of a civilization.

Literature is the flower of the people, that is to say, it forms the splendor of the brilliance of the ethos (*seishin*) of the people. Whatever the civilized country, to be worthy of calling itself a civilized country, it must have some kind of brilliant literature. If it does not have such a literature, no matter how much capability it has to invade other countries, it is not worthy of being called a civilized country.⁸⁷

In particular, Inoue notes that the *Kojiki* is “the greatest monument in Japanese literature” and that “the unique characteristics of the mentality of our country can be discovered in the *Kojiki*.”⁸⁸ He notes three characteristics in particular. First, the vastness of the Japanese imagination is reflected in the size of the world of the *Kojiki*, for example the height of the high heavenly plain, the depth of Yomi, the distance to Ne no Kuni, and the 800 myriad gods. He adds that this vastness is not to be found in the legends of China and Korea. Second, he notes that the cheerful disposition seen in the gods who lure Amaterasu out of the heavenly rock cave is characteristic of the Japanese mindset and in stark contrast to the pessimism seen in the Indian tradition. Finally, he discusses the Japanese love of cleanliness, illustrated by Izanaki’s ritual purification after leaving Yomi, and asserts that there is no similar teaching in China or Korea.

As in his 1892 piece, Inoue’s desire to distinguish Japan from other Asian countries is quite clear. However, where he previously did not use mythological sources to draw this distinction, here he posits *Kojiki* as a source for uncovering the mentality of the ancient Japanese

⁸⁷ Inoue Tetsujirō, “Nihon bungaku no kako oyobi shōrai,” *Teikoku bungaku* 1 (1895), 1.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

because, in his own words, “as the oldest mythology is a reflection of the mentality of the people, the things that can be expressed as distinct characteristics within it can be taken as the unique mentality of the people.”⁸⁹ Inoue is reading *Kojiki* as a source for the intellectual history of ancient Japan.

By 1910, Inoue’s position on the genealogy of the Japanese language and on the composition of the Japanese race had completely reversed. He had previously rejected a linguistic connection to Korean, but he now wrote,

The present peoples of Japan are a mixed race. They are a mixed race, but in that mix are continental people who came from the Korean peninsula, that is to say the Mongolian race. That they occupy the majority of the mix can be surmised from the fact that the Japanese language is of the Ural-Altaic genealogy. Then there were also those who came from the south. I think it is safe to say that we can take as fact that there is no doubt that the Kumaso and others came from the south seas. Also some number of Ainu are also mixed in. These three are the main constituents, though some Chinese also gradually came and mixed in.⁹⁰

This ideological switch is noted already in the work of Mitsui Takashi, who raises a number of correlating factors in discussing Inoue’s shift, for example, Japan’s victories in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, a more active adoption of imperialistic thought, the annexation of the Korean peninsula, and a renewed discussion of the *kokutai* and relationship between the emperor and the people.⁹¹ From the perspective of *Nihon shoki* reception, what is interesting is that although he previously treated mythology as a source for intellectual history, at this point he had begun to read the content of the divine-age volumes like *Kume*: as a metaphor for historical fact. He begins discussion of mythology as if he had never broached the topic before:

⁸⁹ Ibid., 12.

⁹⁰ Inoue Tetsujirō, “Nihon minzoku no kigen ni kan suru kōshō,” *Shigaku zasshi* 21-10 (1910), 47.

⁹¹ See Mitsui Takashi, “Seiji shisōshiteki gensetsu to shite no Chōsengo keitōron: Nihon to Chōsen shihai to no kanren de: 1910 nendai,” *Ilbon munhwa hakbo* 9 (2000).

Today I will discuss my perspective on the origins of the Japanese race (民族) by focusing on Japanese mythology. Regarding the origins of the Japanese race, while I have thought various things in the past, I have not yet synthesized them and presented them in public. As a matter of fact, since September of last year, I have especially been researching Japanese mythology and gradually come to realize some things that I would like to try to present piece by piece.⁹²

He goes on to discuss the importance of mythology for excavating nationally specific traits, which echoes his 1895 discussion of the *Kojiki*, but then adds that “Japanese mythology, in its background, as a vivid reminder of the past, reflects historical facts from Japan’s ancient period.”⁹³ Regardless of what underlying structural and sociopolitical motivations prompted this shift, to Inoue, it centered on the interpretation of Japanese mythology.

Inoue incorporated two methodologies in his attempt to find the historical facts underlying mythology. The first was the crude comparative linguistic approach seen in Kanazawa’s early work, based on using foreign languages to read episodes from *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*. He cites Kanazawa directly in discussing one episode from a variant in the *Nihon shoki*, when the goddess Ukemochi was killed by Tsukuyomi and foodstuffs spring from Ukemochi’s corpse. According to Kanazawa and subsequently Inoue, using Korean explains why certain products appear from certain parts of Ukemochi’s body. For example, silkworms come from her eyebrows, and Kanazawa notes that eye in Korean is “nun” (눈) and silkworm is “nu e” (누에), and the phonetic resemblance explains this relationship. Similarly, horses (Kr. mari 마리) come from Ukemochi’s head (mōri 머리), etc. He also cites Tori’i Ryūzō (鳥居龍藏 1870-1953), who used Mongolian to similar effect. Inoue’s incorporation of these theories into his own illustrates

⁹² Inoue, *Nihon minzoku*, 1-2.

⁹³ Ibid., 3.

both his method of reading *Nihon shoki* and also his new position that included Korean and Mongolian peoples in the ancestry of the Japanese people.

Inoue also incorporated Kume's metaphorical style of reading the divine-age volumes, focusing on two episodes in particular. He writes, "there are two places within the background of Japanese mythology that need to be researched by scholars. The first is the fight between Hosuseri and Hikohohodemi. The second is related to the Izumo race (民族), that is to the connection between Susano-o and Ōkuninushi."⁹⁴ Inoue proposed a three-race model predicated on these legendary figures representing different groups of people. Hosuseri, ancestor of the Hayato, represents the Kumaso, who came from the South Seas and lived in Satsuma, Hyuga, and Ōsumi. Hikohohodemi represents what Inoue calls the "celestial descendant lineage" which would later come to be the imperial clan. This group also comes from the South Seas, and the struggle between the two brothers represents the struggle between these two clans. Susano-o and Ōkuninushi's connections with Izumo reveal the struggle between the Izumo race and the celestial descendant lineage. Inoue also included the Ainu as a component, resulting in a three-race composition for the Japanese. He summarizes this position in a 1912 lecture, *Outline of Citizen's Ethics*, as follows.

One part of the Japanese race came from the Korean peninsula. This is the majority. One part came from the south. They came in to Japan from the South Seas. Most of them landed in the southern part of Kyushu and preserved a base of power there. Most of them are the Kumaso. The people who came in from the Korean peninsula landed in various places, but they created their largest settlement in Izumo. The Ainu lived north of the Kantō plain...Until the Japanese state was created, these groups fought with one another, but they gradually mixed together and eventually created the Japanese race.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Ibid., 49.

⁹⁵ Inoue Tetsujirō, *Kokumin dōtoku gairon* (Sanseidō shoten, 1912), 66-67.

The groups from the South Seas, symbolized by Hosuseri and Hikohohodemi, were superior to the others and provided the basis for the imperial line and the establishment of the state.

But of all the races that formed the Japanese race, the celestial descendant lineage was the most excellent. The celestial descendant lineage was the most excellent, and as a result of their unifying the others, the Japanese state was formed.⁹⁶

Notably, in the 1912 lecture Inoue does not mention the *Nihon shoki* or Japanese mythology; he only presents the conclusion of his 1910 article. Most important for this study is that regardless of his ideological motivations, Inoue's shift involved adopting a new way of reading *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*. Where mythology had previously been a window to the mentality of the ancient Japanese and used to show Japan's distinction from other Asian nations, now it was incorporated as a historical source into a theory of the composition of the populace. Also of note is that Inoue, despite moving to promote a mixed-race genealogy of the Japanese, also believed in a pure race composition, claiming that "it is a fact that since the founding of the Japanese state, the Japanese race as an independent populace has continued in the same bloodline."⁹⁷ As Mitsui Takashi notes, this position was important in that Inoue could locate the "mixed-race" part of Japanese history in the pre-historical divine age before the state was founded, thereby allowing him to assert that the racial closeness of Japanese and Koreans without compromising Japanese racial superiority.⁹⁸ It also prevented splitting the imperial clan into a different lineage from the Japanese people.

The Misgivings of Shiratori Kurakichi

⁹⁶ Ibid., 70.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 60.

⁹⁸ Mitsui Takashi, "Seishi shisōshi," 68.

Where Inoue changed his position from one rejecting a shared lineage of Japanese and Korean to one asserting it, Shiratori began by accepting Japanese as a Ural-Altaic language and then later reversed his position to reject a shared origin. However, where Inoue's methodology and the role of mythology changed along with his conclusions, Shiratori remained convinced, regardless of his conclusions, that *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* were not useful as historical sources. An example of Shiratori's original position appears in *Outline on Korean History* (韓史概説), a three-day lecture from 1907. Shiratori said,

Korean people generally belong to the genealogy of race known as Ural-Altaic, however within that genealogy they are a race quite distant from others. Ural-Altaic is a linguistic classification, and is the name given to the races in the north of Asia by philologists and linguists...According to this classification, Koreans, in the same manner as the Japanese, form one part of the Ural-Altaic group. This is a linguistic classification, but in most cases linguistic classifications reveal racial classifications.⁹⁹

In the same lecture he also explicitly rejected the three-race position seen in Inoue's piece from 1910.

Today the tendency among those who lecture on Japanese history is that there was some Yamato race or Kumaso race and it interprets those as different, and claims that a celestial descendant race had a greatly superior level of civilization and migrated to the Japanese archipelago, but I do not agree. Those time periods that had oral legends (口碑伝説) were from a much later age, and it was long before that that our ancestors crossed the Korean peninsula and came, settling on the Japanese archipelago.¹⁰⁰

While Shiratori does not explicitly state what he is referring to when he says "oral legends," other work suggest that he means the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*. For example, three years later he published *Thoughts on Himiko, Queen of Wa* (倭女王卑弥呼考), writing "While the facts of the ancient period are transmitted in the two books passed down in our country, *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the sections that correspond to the Han dynasty and Wei state are oral legends (口碑伝

⁹⁹ Shiratori Kurakichi, "Kanshi gaisetsu," in *Shiratori Kurakichi zenshū* 9 (Iwanami, 1971), 287.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 290.

説).”¹⁰¹ Importantly, these oral traditions from *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* do not appear in Shiratori’s discussion of race at all, a major difference from Inoue in 1910. Another way of putting this would be to say that Shiratori invested so heavily in linguistic methods for racial classification precisely because he believed that the oral legends of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were too recent. This opinion contrasts particularly well with Kanazawa, who used comparative linguistics in reading the same sources that Shiratori discounted. For Shiratori, only comparative linguistics, divorced from textual studies, could provide a window into ancient Japanese history. This position is particularly clear in his research on the Ainu, who have no written historical texts. In his 1905 *The Ainu Race as seen from Linguistics* (言語学上より見たる「アイノ」人種), Shiratori wrote:

But in the case of the Ainu, they cannot be studied historically, and from their earliest point until the present it has been over 2,000 years, so their origins are unknown. For knowing the origins of these people when there is no history, one method is to use linguistics.¹⁰²

Shiratori also mentions how linguistic comparison of Sanskrit and Latin has shown that Indians and Persians are the same race as English and Germans; his work after returning to Japan from foreign study in 1903 suggests that he is attempting a similar project through comparison of languages spoken in northeast Asia,

Two years after *Outline on Korean History*, Shiratori published *On the Comparison of Numbers in Japanese, Korean, and Ainu*, where he wrote,

Within the languages of the world, linguists foreign and domestic for the most part generally think that the language that most resembles Korean is Japanese. Thereby, among western scholars, when classifying the languages of Asia, they create a field called Japano-Korea and put the two languages of Japanese and Korean into it. Because

¹⁰¹ Shiratori Kurakichi, “Wa jōō Himiko kō,” in *Shiratori Kurakichi zenshū 1* (Iwanami, 1969), 3.

¹⁰² Shiratori Kurakichi, “Gengogaku jō yori mitaru ‘Aino’ jinshu,” in *Shiratori Kurakichi zenshū 2* (Iwanami, 1970), 350.

in the past I also believed that these two languages definitely had an immediate connection, I engaged in many years of comparative research of the two languages, and thereby worked to produce results that satisfied my general expectations. However, the reality ran counter to those expectations, and according to the steps by which my research has advanced, the relationship between the two languages has become more estranged, and I arrived at the conclusion that the two were not as closely related as initially expected.¹⁰³

Shiratori's analysis had led him to a conclusion opposite of where he began; now he was denying the relation between Japanese and Korean. His focus on numerals, in particular, lay in a conviction that they bore a direct relationship to the mentality of the people. This conviction connected language and racial origins such that he began to develop a new theory that separated the Japanese from the rest of Asia. He concluded the article saying,

While the numerals of the Ainu and Korean people who neighbor the Japanese resemble the numerals of the Ural-Altai people of north Asia, numerals in Japanese belong to a completely different category, and new research related to the affiliation and character of the Japanese language and to the origins of the Japanese people is needed.¹⁰⁴

Shiratori also began to posit his ideas about the divine age volumes of the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* more clearly. In earlier research, it was clear that he had misgivings about their usefulness as historical sources because they were composed long after people migrated to the Japanese archipelago. Rather than read the myths as historical sources, he proposed, in his 1915 *Critique on Theory on the Japanese Race*, that they were actually stories about the ancient period but unrelated to racial origins.

Hypothesizing the three races of the celestial lineage, Izumo, and Kumaso based on the scriptures (神典) and thereby explaining the origin of the Japanese race is not only impossible, but completely mistaken. The interpretation of scripture and research on the Japanese race are two unrelated issues, but because many scholars today attempt to research the Japanese race using the scriptures as a base, I need to make my own thoughts on the scriptures clear. In speaking about what the scriptures are, they are one great story

¹⁰³ Shiratori Kurakichi, "Ni, Kan, Ainu san kokugo no sūshi ni tsuite," in *Shiratori Kurakichi zenshū* 2 (Iwanami, 1970), 417.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 457.

(物語) in which the facts of beliefs, systems, government, customs, and mores of our country in the ancient period are beautifully and poetically evoked.¹⁰⁵

However, Shiratori made this thesis public several years earlier, as Tsuda Sōkichi cites Shiratori in the opening of his 1913 *Jindaishi no atarashii kenkyū* (New Research on the Divine Age).

Tsuda wrote, “Recently Shiratori has been advancing a new thesis that the divine age history is a story that someone in some time period intentionally created in order to make clear the majesty of the imperial house, and he is explaining that conception and the spirit that it is based on in great detail.”¹⁰⁶ Tsuda would directly criticize the metaphorical method of reading the divine-age sections of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* himself in 1919, when he published *Kojiki oyobi nihon shoki no shinkenkyū*.¹⁰⁷

Tsuda Sōkichi and the Beginning of *ki-ki* Mythology

Shiratori’s rejection of using *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* for interpreting Japanese origins would lead to Tsuda’s recasting these texts as a “divine story” (神代の物語). Tsuda found a way to reread *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* that could reassert the existence of a Japanese people, a *kokumin*, and restore historical value to the portions of these materials that dealt with time periods prior to the eighth century. As seen in the opening of *Kokushi gan*, for example, the creation of a *kokumin* via *a priori* assumption of their existence in the ancient period was of paramount importance but also problematic, as pointed out by Ōkubo Yoshiharu. Tsuda found the key to reclaiming the pre-eighth century *kokumin* and the divine-age volumes in the preface to the *Kojiki*, where he rejected one of Norinaga’s underlying premises. Tsuda writes,

¹⁰⁵ Shiratori Kurakuichi, “Nihon jinshu ni tai suru hihyō,” in *Shiratori Kurakichi zenshū* 9 (Iwanami, 1971), 192.

¹⁰⁶ Tsuda Sōkichi, *Jindaishi no atarashii kenkyū* (Nishōdō shobō, 1913), 3-4.

¹⁰⁷ See Tsuda Sōkichi, *Kojiki oyobi Nihon shoki no shin kenkyū* (Rakuyōdō, 1919).

I want to add one thing to the introduction. Since Norinaga wrote the *Kojikiden*, one type of bias regarding the origins of the *Kojiki* has appeared in the world. That is to take the section in the preface that reads “Hieda no Are, age twenty-eight, was so intelligent that he could recite by mouth whatever he saw with his eyes and commit to memory anything he heard. The emperor commanded Are to learn by rote memorization the genealogy of the imperial line and the old words (旧辞) of former ages” to mean that Are took old records that were written in *kanbun* and reread them in Japanese, then put aside the documents and memorized them by heart. Then Ō no Yasumaro heard this from Are’s mouth and wrote what he said down using letters. This is because Norinaga thought the “ji” (辞) in “old words” (旧辞) meant language. First of all, that the only type of writing prior to the *Kojiki* was pure *kanbun* is conjecture with no basis whatsoever. Really, wasn’t there the type of writing we see in *norito*? Also even in the *Nihon shoki*, which was written in *kanbun*, are there not also places here and there that were read in Japanese? So, regarding whatever Are read, if we were to assume Norinaga’s explanation that it was in *kanbun* and that he changed that to Japanese and recited it aloud, there would be no need whatsoever to memorize it without writing it down. Also looking at the *Kojiki*, it doesn’t look like the entirety of the text was read aloud in Japanese, and there are many places where it can be read in straight *kanbun* without any problems at all; similarly there is no particular need to read sections like genealogies in Japanese.¹⁰⁸

For Tsuda, the “old words” refer rather to a kind of repository of ancient stories and tales from which the *Kojiki* (as well as the *Nihon shoki*) were put together from, especially in the early volumes. By Tsuda’s reckoning, the first compilations of such stories were the *Kyūji* and *Teiki*, compiled in the Kinmei era (r. 539-571). But, because many edits and revisions happened after that, numerous variant texts appeared.

Then, based on Tsuda’s reading of the *Kojiki* preface, in the seventh century the Tenmu court wanted to establish a canonical narrative, and certain variants were selected to form the basis of the *Kojiki*. As David Lurie points out, this interpretation of the *Kojiki* preface both misunderstands the purpose of the preface as a whole and over relies on this explanation as a model for how the *Kojiki* was actually compiled.¹⁰⁹ However, for Tsuda, who worked from these assumptions, and as opposed to Norinaga who read the *Kojiki* as a finished text, the *Kojiki*

¹⁰⁸ Tsuda, *Jindaishi no atarashii*, 17.

¹⁰⁹ See David Lurie, “The Origins of Writing in Early Japan: From the 1st to the 8th Century C.E.” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2001).

preface suggested a method for resurrecting the variants that Tsuda posited as existing before the *Kojiki*. The process and logic are most clearly expounded in his 1923 expansion of his original thesis.

In the seventh century, there existed many variant versions of the *Teiki* and *Kyūji*, and because the explanations became divergent, in the Tenmu court there was a need to create a standard explanation that had legitimacy. From these numerous variants, a certain *Teiki* and a certain *Kyūji* became the basis of the *Kojiki*, but this *Teiki* and *Kyūji* were certainly not the first that were compiled...¹¹⁰

This is what Tsuda was groping for in the section on Norinaga above, which he omitted in 1923. He would go on to note that these variant versions of the *Teiki* and *Kyūji* were not only used for the *Kojiki*, but also in compilation of *Nihon shoki*. However, unlike *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki* incorporated some of these differing records as variant texts. This resulted in a Tsuda developing a comparative method to extract the ur-*Kojiki* and ur-*Nihon shoki* materials.

Thereby, the “*issho*” variant texts that are often cited in the *Nihon shoki* are from before the compilation of the *Kojiki* and there is no doubt that they were seen by the compilers of the *Kojiki*. It is difficult to determine now what viewpoint the *Kojiki* used as a basis for taking one version from among these many variants and discarding the others and based on what standard the *Nihon shoki* took one version as the main text and included the others as variants. But, so long as we do not assume there is some reason that we have to take the adoptions and rejections of these two texts as absolutely correct, to pick out the ancient legends (古伝説) [emphasis added], it is necessary to view the many variants without bias. Then, the most reasonable method is to generally prepare by taking only the points that are held in common across the many versions and discarding the ones that differ. Not only that, but because there was one story and from it various types of changes occurred, the parts held in common between the many variants are the original story or elements that existed in the original story, so in order to see the ancient legends and go as far back to the original story as possible, there is no other way than this.¹¹¹

Here Tsuda’s general methodology is stated simply: the parts of stories that appear across variants are part of the original story, but the things that are only in one or two versions of a story must be later additions. An example of this follows in how Tsuda treats the opening sections of

¹¹⁰ Tsuda Sōkichi, *Jindaishi no kenkyū* (Iwanami, 1923), 2-3.

¹¹¹ Tsuda, *Jindaishi no atarashii*, 24.

the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. The *Kojiki* account is identical to one of the seven *Nihon shoki* accounts, so Tsuda reckons that these are from the same source. The only god who appears in all seven accounts is Kunitokotachi, so this god was a part of the story before all of the variant texts arose. Amenominakanushi, Takamimusubi, Kamimusubi, and the High Heavenly Plain appear only in *Kojiki* and the one *Nihon shoki* version that is close to *Kojiki*, so conversely they should not be considered part of the divine age story.¹¹²

Tsuda's focus on "ancient legends" is particularly telling and distinguishes him sharply from earlier historians like Kume. Where *Kokushi gan* combined *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* to produce a correct version of Japanese civilization centered on the state and imperial household, Tsuda would compare *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* to find the oldest versions of ancient legends, which he imagined circulated among the people of the nation. Conversely, the history of the imperial household as seen in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* was actually an impediment, based on editorial decisions to explain the origins of the imperial household. Tsuda would also note that when the original *Teiki* and *Kyūji* were being compiled, Confucian, Daoist, Chen wei (讖緯), and other materials related to divinity crossed over from the continent, and these foreign mentalities also formed one part of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* that would need to be culled in order to find the original, domestic mentality of people in the ancient period. In Tsuda's view, this continental creep was the result of the adoption of sinographs.

Tsuda's 1923 revisions resulted in a much more detailed and nuanced reading of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. For example, in Tsuda's reading of the opening sections of both texts, he notes that the god Kamimusubi appears in the Ōgetsuhime and Izumo mythology sections of *Kojiki* but has no relation to the core of the story and that this god only appears at the beginning of *Nihon*

¹¹² Ibid., 25.

shoki, so it must be a later addition. Takamimusubi appears later in *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, so he was known in the time that the variants of the *Kyūji* spawned, but he is not in all the variants of the *Kyūji*, so this god was not part of the original genealogy and was added later. Further, he could be taken out of the heavenly grandson descent narrative without any serious problem. Amenominakanushi does not appear in the later story at all, so this god is nothing but name. The idea of a single god in the middle of heaven, the literal meaning of the god's name, was also not a component of early Japanese thought as it does not appear in popular religious beliefs, *norito*, or the *Man'yōshū*. The concept of *musuhi* itself was based on Chinese thought, as it is an abstract concept fitting a later age and because the two *musuhi* gods, Takami-mushi and Kami-musuhi, are not objects of popular religious worship. These two gods are also based on Chinese thought. Amenonakanushi is presumed to be based on the First King of Heaven (元始天王) of six dynasties period Chinese thought.¹¹³

Tsuda's 1923 analysis continues in detail for all of the deities mentioned in the opening sections of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, with the result that everyone before Izanaki and Izanami was not part of the original story. Tsuda's fundamental approach and overall objective of rediscovering originary Japanese mythology and thereby the thoughts and ideas of the early Japanese people remains the same between 1913 and 1923, but as mentioned earlier and reflected above, in the 1923 study Tsuda suggests tighter conclusions between the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and Chinese mythology. He also begins making wider connections, for example, noting whether a god in the early narrative appears later and whether that appearance is significant. In this sense, Tsuda progressively treats the divine age volumes and the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as stories with plots and characters, and he uses the plot holes to identify where the

¹¹³ Tsuda, *Jindaishi no kenkyū*, 30-58.

narrative has been stitched together. He likely envisioned this approach from the beginning, as he wrote in his 1913 book, citing Shiratori, that that the divine age volumes are a made-up story (物語).

Chapter 5 – *Nihon shoki* and the Creation of A National Canon

Where the previous chapter dealt primarily with the place of *Nihon shoki* in Meiji historiography, this chapter will examine its position in the literary tradition. Two key movements form the background for understanding Japanese literature in the late Meiji period, when the period divisions and modern canon were formalized, and *Nihon shoki* is particularly illustrative of them because its hybridity between a Chinese-style historical account in Literary Sinitic and vernacular elements in Japanese led to starkly different evaluations of its literary character. The first of these movements is a reevaluation of the position and role of literature generally. This occurred through two contemporaneous phenomena. First, in the last half of the Meiji period, a large number of literary histories were produced, one of the first and most prominent being Mikami Sanji (三上参次, 1865-1939) and Takatsu Kuwasaburō's (高津鯉三郎, 1864-1921) 1890 *Nihon bungaku shi* (History of Japanese Literature). Through the end of the Meiji period, scores of similarly-titled books were written, often as course materials for secondary education. As Tomi Suzuki has noted, these histories were largely shaped by Hippolyte Taine's (1828-1893) *History of English Literature* (1864) and Spencerian evolutionism.¹ Second, in November 1894, students and faculty at the Imperial University organized the Imperial Literary Society (*Teikoku bungakukai*) in order to create and formalize a national literature, what Shinada Yoshikazu has called the "late Meiji national literature movement" (*Meiji kōki kokumin bungaku undō*).² Shinada locates the paradigm for this

¹ Tomi Suzuki, "Gender and Genre," in *Inventing the Classics*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000) 74-75. Mikami specifically notes Taine's influence in his reminiscences. See Mikami Sanji, *Meiji jidai no rekishigakkai* (Yoshikawa, 1991), 49.

² Shinada Yoshikazu, "The Invention of a National Poetry Anthology," in *Inventing the Classics*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000) 43.

movement in the Herder's concept of the *Volkslied*, which discovered the German national spirit in popular culture.

A second element that would shape *Nihon shoki*'s reception as literature in the Meiji period was a shift in emphasis from literature as a measure of civilization that could be compared with other nations to literature as a demonstration of cultural particularity. Shinada has broached this topic by formulating it as a conceptual move from civilization to culture (*bunmei kara bunka he*), in which civilization is universal, composite, pliable, and material, and culture is unique, elemental, fixed, and spiritual.³ Haruo Shirane has similarly noted the prominence of the folklore studies movement (*minzokugaku*) in the late Meiji period, which in contrast to the mid-Meiji national literature movement, sought national literature from the bottom up in popular literary forms; this can be seen as part of the same trend Shinada identified in that the folklore movement looked for demonstrations of Japanese uniqueness.⁴ The earlier emphasis on civilization was evident in the materials used in the previous chapter, where historians such as Naka Michiyo (那珂通, 1851-1908) and Kume Kunitake (久米邦武, 1839-1931) sought to use *Nihon shoki* as a historical record that could be used to compare the progress of ancient Japan with that of other nations.

Nihon shoki* in Mikami and Takatsu's *History of Japanese Literature

³ Shinada Yoshikazu, "Nana seiki no bungaku wa jōdai bungaku ka," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 78-11 (2001): 50-53.

⁴ Haruo Shirane, "Issues in Canon Formation," in *Inventing the Classics*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000) 16-18.

In 1890, Mikami and Takatsu, with the assistance of Ochiai Naobumi (落合直文, 1861-1903), wrote the first modern literary history of Japan.⁵ Their educational backgrounds differ in that Mikami and Takatsu were graduates of the Imperial University's Department of Japanese Literature, whereas Ochiai was a graduate of the University of Tokyo's Classics Course; the significance of this difference will be discussed later in the chapter.⁶ Gunilla Lindberg-Wada has analyzed the introductory sections of the work and identified the primary continuities and ruptures, quoting Hisamatsu Sen'ichi (久松潜一, 1894-1976) and saying, "the idea of showing how literature developed in a historical process was certainly new, but the subject of Japanese literature still built on the tradition of National Learning (*kokugaku*), and the attitude that a pure Japanese mentality or spirit constituted the core of the object of research remained more or less unchanged."⁷ Lindberg-Wada's analysis proceeds in the vein of Hisamatsu's observation, however, tracing a single work (in this case *Nihon shoki*) across several literary histories from the time reveals a larger distance from National Learning and between Meiji literary scholars than Hisamatsu imagines.⁸ Michael C. Brownstein also echoes this statement by Hisamatsu, and he discusses at length the development of the Japanese canon in the Meiji period and Mikami and Takatsu's *History*. For Brownstein, the key point is the new conception of literature and its

⁵ Mikami recalls that Takatsu and himself, the only members of Mikami's course from the same year, had been putting together the history and found a publisher when they learned that Ochiai had also begun collecting materials for a similar work. For this reason, Ochiai's name was included on the first edition, but was dropped from subsequent reprints. See Mikami, *Meiji jidai no rekishigakkai*, 49.

⁶ What is now the University of Tokyo went through several name changes during his period: first as the University of Tokyo from 1877, where the Classics Course was established, then as the Imperial University from 1886, when the Classics Course was dissolved and the Department of Japanese Literature established, then to Tokyo Imperial University after the creation of Kyoto Imperial University in 1897.

⁷ Gunilla Lindberg-Wada, "Japanese Literary History Writing: The Beginnings," in *Literary History: Towards A Global Perspective, Volume I*, ed. Gunilla Lindberg-Wada (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, 2006), 128.

⁸ The break between Edo and Meiji National Learning is discussed at length in Susan Burns' *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan*, (Duke University Press, 2003). See Chapter 7, "National Literature, Intellectual History, and the New Kokugaku."

relation to *gakumon* that appeared among Meiji scholars who regarded themselves as successors to the National Learning tradition.⁹ However, the approach here allows for further distinctions to be made, specifically between the graduates from the 1882-1888 University of Tokyo Classics Course and the first generation of graduates from the Imperial University Department of Literature. Further, the problems of treating National Learning as a monolithic tradition and finding continuity with the Meiji project of creating a National Literature have been thoroughly criticized by intellectual historians both in Japan and abroad.¹⁰

Speaking generally, Suzuki points out that Mikami and Takatsu's *History*, along with several other similar histories of literature published in the same year, characterized Japanese literature as "elegant and graceful" in comparison to "heroic and grand" Chinese and "precise, detailed, and exhaustive" Western works, and that this characterization was based on a new understanding of *bungaku* as literature in the modern sense of the word; the basis of this new national literature would be works from the Heian period. This understanding was rooted in a phonocentric notion of national language that considered the Heian period the beginning of *wabun*, Japanese writings in *hiragana*.¹¹ Despite this emphasis on the Heian, Mikami and Takatsu included two full sections on pre-Heian material. The first covers ancient literature (上古文学), which Mikami and Takatsu define as up to Empress Jitō (r. 686-697), and the second covers the Nara period. The inclusion of Jitō, Tenmu (r. 672-686), and Monmu (r. 697-707) in the Nara period, which did not begin until 710, reflects Mikami and Takatsu's desire to include

⁹ Michael C. Brownstein, "From Kokugaku to Kokubungaku: Canon-Formation in the Meiji Period," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47-2 (1987): 435.

¹⁰ See Susan Burns, *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan* (Duke University Press, 2003).

¹¹ Suzuki, "Gender and Genre," 75-78.

the poetry of Kakinomoto Hitomaro (柿本人麻呂, ??-??) in the Nara period, which they identify as the “age of waka.”¹² At present, ancient literature is traditionally defined as all pre-Heian literature; Shinada has suggested that Mikami and Takatsu’s approach, which would be followed in subsequent anthologies, reflects the beginnings of the shift from civilization to culture in historicizing Japanese literature in the late Meiji period. Later texts which expanded the ancient period to include Nara literature dispelled the idea of ancient Japan as an undeveloped civilization and reinforced notions that a particular Japanese ethos, demonstrated in Nara literature, was reflected across Japanese literature from ancient times to the present.¹³

Before diving into the ancient period, Mikami and Takatsu present some general remarks that frame the objectives and methods for their study. The emphasis on literature as a component of civilization is clear from the outset.

History, especially the history of civilization, examines the changes in government, religion, academics, the arts, customs, and manners, and makes clear the cause and effect of facts. Accordingly, because it describes the development of knowledge and ethics, it goes without saying that the history of literature is one part of this. Prose and poetry, as they are the best at expressing human mentality, feelings, and imagination, are the greatest resource for [studying] this.¹⁴

For Mikami and Takatsu, the history of literature is tied to the history of civilization and makes possible the comparison of the progress of different civilizations. They go on to define literature itself, and then national literature, which has three components: the particularities of the people of the nation, external phenomena, and the spirit of the times. Finally, they discuss the origins and development of literature, which for Mikami and Takatsu, hinges on the creation of script, which allows the recording of the voice as verse and develops into written prose. At the same

¹² Takatsu Kuwasaburō and Mikami Sanji, *Nihon bungaku shi*, (Kinkōdō, 1890), 6.

¹³ Shinada, “Nanaseiki no bungaku wa jōdai bungaku ka,” 50-51.

¹⁴ Mikami and Takatsu, *Nihon bungaku shi*, 2-3.

time, Mikami and Takatsu wanted to find a place for the voice apart from script, in keeping with an idea that in ancient Japan, an oral tradition existed prior to the importation of sinographs. The conclusion to their section on the development of national literature illustrates this move as well as their overall impression that the pre-literate age was uncivilized and uncultivated.

Among the literature of societies where human knowledge is completely undeveloped, there is much that boils up from feelings or is born from imagination. Works like poetry are essentially this. Poetry is artfully expressing the range of emotions that come from interacting with and feeling things. Hence, in the ancient period, even when there was no script, it goes without saying that anything using words belongs in the category of poetry. This poetry can also be called non-written literature (不文の文学), or can be called the seeds, planted in the earth, of true literature.¹⁵

This non-written literature, which Mikami and Takatsu distinguish from true (i.e. written) literature, serves to incorporate the Japanese poetic tradition into the history of literature using a notion of the vernacular, and, more importantly, asserts that while literature is by nature restricted to written materials, its origins lay in the pre-literate. Mikami and Takatsu's position that this pre-literate society is also underdeveloped is similarly clear.

In discussing the pre-literate period, the emphasis on the creation of script would require some negotiation, as the earliest written materials in Japan used sinographs rather than a native script. Mikami and Takatsu approach the development of literature in Japan from the standpoint of a history of script, first raising the issue of whether literature existed in the ancient period at all, followed by discussion of Sinographs, Buddhism, and written materials they posited as pre-Nara literature. They write,

As stated earlier, true literature takes form after script, hence, if the time period in which script was created is not known, how can we obtain knowledge of the origin of literature?¹⁶

¹⁵ Ibid., 34.

¹⁶ Ibid., 44.

Rejection of the jindai moji meant that no literature existed prior to the importation of sinographs, and Mikami and Takatsu imagine the divine age as a primitive one in which culture had not yet taken root. At the same time, they imagined that people in this period still prided themselves on the beauty of the Japanese language and that this trend was the beginning of the Japanese poetic tradition; however, this oral tradition was not recorded. They argue that three poems from the *Man'yōshū* illustrate this.

It has been passed down orally
from the age of the gods that Yamato
continues to be called a country
of the power of the gods and emperors,
where the soul of language flourishes.

神代より言ひつてけらく
そらみつ倭の国は、
皇神のいつくしきくに、
言霊のさきはふ国と、
語りつき、いひつかひけり¹⁹

The country of lush ears of rice is a country
expressed in words by the will of the gods,
however

葦原の瑞穂の国は、
神ながら言あげせぬ国、
しかれども²⁰

In Yamato where the islands are spread out
the soul of language flourishes indeed.
²¹

敷島の、やまとの国は、言だまの
さきはふ国ぞ、まさきくありこそ

Notably, the final poem is usually rendered “the soul of language abounds” (言霊之所^{ことだまのたす}左^さ国^{くに}叙^ぞ) taking the character 佐 (“assist”) standing in for 佑 (“protect, bless”), but Mikami and Takatsu have to interpret it so that it will match the first poem they cite. To these examples, they add the *Kojiki*, *norito* (Shinto prayers), the poems in the *Nihon shoki*, and the imperial edicts in the *Shoku nihongi*, all of which they took as having been transmitted using the Japanese language

¹⁹ Ibid, 46. The poem is MYS V:894 by Yamanoue no Okura (山上憶良, ??-??). Japanese is given as it appears in Mikami and Takatsu. While this is only the opening stanza of the poem, Mikami and Takatsu are most interested in the notion that the “soul of language” flourishes in Yamato and that its epithets have been transmitted orally since the age of the gods.

²⁰ Ibid. The poem is MYS XIII: 3253 by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (柿本人麻呂, ??-??).

²¹ Ibid. The poem is MYS XIII: 3254, an envoy to 3253.

despite being written with sinographs. This is the first glance at how *Nihon shoki* would be incorporated into Meiji period histories of Japanese literature: its songs, because they are written in Japanese, serve as evidence of an oral tradition in ancient Japan. While Mikami and Takatsu, by their own general definition, cannot call this literature proper, because their idea of national literature hinged on the Japanese language itself, they sought to find a place for these ancient sources that were written using the vernacular.

In the divine age, there were certainly songs and the like that were the seeds of literature, that is, non-written literature. However, the sprouting of these seeds and their coming out of the soil, and thereby the coming of the first step of literature, was after the introduction of sinographs.²²

The concrete identification of *Kojiki*, *norito*, *Nihon shoki* poetry, and imperial edicts as the non-written literature Mikami and Takatsu previously established as the origin of true literature illustrates how they negotiated the importation of sinographs. As Suzuki has noted, their focus on the Japanese language resulted in their history removing *kanbun* literature from the body of national literature.²³ To this we can add that Mikami and Takatsu's conception of non-written literature allowed them to locate the origins of national literature before the introduction of sinographs, hence making it a uniquely domestic product. While sinographs were a necessary step in the development of national literature, the seeds themselves were found in an imagined prehistoric poetic tradition. *Nihon shoki* was one repository of this non-written literature.

Mikami and Takatsu move on to concretize the relationship between voice and writing after the importation of script by detailing the interactions of ancient Japan with foreign nations based on entries from *Nihon shoki* and Chinese histories. These interactions led to the introduction of sinographs to Japan, which were used to record the oral traditions that had existed

²² Ibid., 55.

²³ Suzuki, "Gender and Genre," 77.

prior to foreign contact, as well as to the incorporation of Buddhist traditions and Chinese models of government. Hence, while Japanese national literature developed because of foreign contact, its origins lie squarely in a uniquely domestic tradition. This developmental model, based on the synthesis of outside technology with native customs, would become a common theme in the early steps of the late Meiji national literature movement. Once this relationship between voice and script was concretized, Mikami and Takatsu moved to historicizing Japanese literature in earnest.

First, Mikami and Takatsu divide the ancient period into pre-literate and post-literate ages at the reign of Empress Suiko (r. 593-628). Prior to this reign, Mikami and Takatsu imagined that:

In examining the nature of government in our ancient period, rituals and administration were one, there was no special system of strict laws, there was no religion, the emperor worshiped the gods of heaven and earth and respected his ancestors, and the people served the emperor as a deity made manifest.²⁴

However, following the written code and embassy to Sui under Prince Shōtoku (regent 593-621) and the Taika reforms (645), Buddhist institutions became enmeshed in the fabric of life and written administration formalized government systems. For the pre-Suiko period, they seize on the poetry in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, with the caveat that many of the verbal transmissions in the *Kojiki*, *Fudoki*, and *norito* are erroneous and cannot be considered to be from this period. They identify the first “seed” of literature as Susano-o’s poem from volume one of *Nihon shoki*.²⁵

²⁴ Mikami and Takatsu, *Nihon bungaku shi*, 66-67.

²⁵ The poem is also in *Kojiki* in slightly different format; Mikami and Takatsu cite the *Nihon shoki* version which uses “tsuma gome ni” as opposed to *Kojiki* “tsuma gomi ni.”

Eight-fold clouds rise,
Izumo's eight-fold fence.
To enclose my wife
I build an eight-fold fence.
Oh, that eight-fold fence!

八雲たつ、出雲八重垣、妻ごめに、
八雲垣つくる、そのやえがきを。²⁶

In their reading of the poem, the plain, unadorned style of the poetry of this period is captured when the poet is moved by natural phenomena. While these descriptions did not reflect a “clever use of sound and voice,” they continue by noting that there was no shortage of skill among early emperors and empresses, and specifically they note Jinmu, Ōjin, Nintoku, Ingyō, Yūryaku, Buretsu, and Suiko and consorts Isuzu no hime and Iwa no hime. To Susano-o's poem they add, from *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, two verses by Shitateru hime:²⁷

Dwelling in heaven.
The beads on the string
worn on the neck
of the weaving-woman,
on a string,
beads of an ankle bracelet,
like those beads,
shining across two valleys,
is the god
Ajisuki
Takahikone.

天なるや。
乙たなばたの、
うながせる、
玉のみすまる、
みすまるに、
あな玉はや、
み谷、
ふたわたらす、
味耜、
高彦根の
神ぞ。²⁸

Under distant skies
a country girl
crosses the straits
and at the depths of the rocky river,
at the depths on one side,

あま
天さかる、
ひな
鄙つ女の、
い渡らす瀬戸、
いしかは片淵、
かたぶちに、

²⁶ Ibid., 75.

²⁷ The *Kojiki* version of this poem is only the first of these two poems, and the *Nihon shoki* version does not have the final “ajisuki no takahikone no kami zo” that appears at the end of the *Kojiki* version.

²⁸ Ibid., 76. The first stanza is KJK 6 by the SNKBZ numbering system. Orthography and punctuation appear as they are in Mikami and Takatsu.

she hoists her net and crosses,
like the maiden comes,
come this way,
at the depths of the rocky river.

網張りわたし、
女ろよしに
よし寄り来ね、
石河かたふち。²⁹

Nihon shoki notes that this song is of the *hinaburi* type or “rustic song,” and Mikami and Takatsu adopt Norinaga’s proposition that the style name is derived from the *hina* that appears in the poem itself. Finally, they cite a poem by Emperor Jinmu.

At the hunting ground of Uda,
I set a trap for sandpiper.
Oh, I waited,
and did not catch a sandpiper.
I caught
a fearsome whale.
If the old wife
asks for a side dish,
carve off a piece
lacking meat
like the fruit of a beech tree.
If the new wife
asks for a side dish,
carve off a piece
with lots of meat
like the fruit of the oak.

うだ
菟田のたかきに、
しぎ
鳴わなはる。
吾が待つや、
鳴はさやらず。
いすくはし、
鯨さやる。
こなみか、
な乞はさば、
立ちそばの、
みのなげくを、
こけしひしゑね。
うはなり
後妻が、
な乞はさば、
いちさかき、
みの多けくを、
こきたひゑね³⁰

Notably, Mikami and Takatsu chose poems which go beyond discreet moments of composition and allow them to posit the existence of a poetic tradition in the ancient period. Susano-o’s poem is important in this regard as it is considered the first Japanese poem, a designation it received in the *kana* preface to the *Kokinshū*. Shitateru hime’s two verses are

²⁹ Ibid., 76. The poem is NHSK 6. I have followed Mikami and Takatsu in translation, but “maiden” in line 7 (OJ: *me*, *kō*) is meant to be “eye of a net” (OJ: *me*, *otsu*) and the poem depicts the eyes of the net coming together when prey is caught.

³⁰ Ibid., 77. The poem is KJK 9.

followed by a note in both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* that they are considered a particular style of verse; this would testify to the existence of a particular paradigm and poetic tradition beyond the poem itself. Finally, Jinmu's poem, in both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, is asserted to be the origin of the *kume* dance, which was performed at the imperial succession ceremony.³¹ Hence, these poems demonstrated an oral tradition from the ancient period. As discussed earlier, Mikami and Takatsu were not only trying to create a history of national literature that focused on the Japanese language, but also sought to place the origins of this literature in an unwritten tradition that began in the pre-literate period. The selection of these particular verses from the one-hundred and ninety that appear in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* reflect this endeavor.

After firmly establishing the existence of an oral poetic tradition in ancient Japan, Mikami and Takatsu continue by ensuring that this tradition would apply across the entirety of the imagined ancient Japanese people. To do this, they cite several conversational poetic exchanges in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* between lords and retainers. For example, Yamato Takeru had the following exchange with a servant while staying in the palace of Sakaori.

Since passing Nībari and Tsukuba,
how many nights have I slept?

にひばり、筑波をすぎて、
幾夜かねつる。³²

Adding up the days,
Nine nights have passed,
and ten days.

かかなべて、
夜にはこの夜。
日には十日を³³

The fact that the exchange took place between people of different social classes reflected, for Mikami and Takatsu, a diffusion throughout the populace of the tradition they had identified.

³¹ The dance stopped being performed in the Muromachi period, but was later revived in the late Edo period.

³² Ibid., 78. The poem is KJK 25. Yamato Takeru is asking how many nights have passed in order to gauge the size of the Azuma region.

³³ Ibid., 78. The poem is KJK 26.

They also connected these conversational exchanges to the linked verse tradition that arose in the Kamakura period. In similar fashion, they devoted a short discussion to poetic exchanges between male and female lovers, which they tied to the Heian period, albeit with the caveat that Heian period poetry was stylistically different due to an emphasis on timidity. In either case, the addition of poetic exchanges to the treatment of ancient Japanese literature allowed Mikami and Takatsu to both expand the production and longevity of the tradition rooted in non-written literature.

According to Mikami and Takatsu, discussion of the second part of the ancient period, from Suiko to Tenmu, was marked by the widespread use of script and advancement in the level of poetics. They write,

During the ninety-some years of these eight reigns, society progressed widely, and due to the progress of Chinese studies, the use of sinographs generally came under good command. Thereby literature on its own appeared and progressed. This progress can be known via comparison of the songs included in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and the poems in the first volume of the *Man'yōshū*.³⁴

Mikami and Takatsu also assert that it was during this period that the *norito*, which they regard as the first example of Japanese prose, appeared. The citation above shows how Mikami and Takatsu divided the ancient period based on the development of Japanese literature which, for them, paralleled the introduction of script. The pre-literate age, in contrast, appeared in the songs from *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and carried the seeds of Japanese literature that would later develop into a written tradition.

This tradition reached fruition in the Nara period, which, as stated earlier, Mikami and Takatsu placed from Empress Jitō until the move to Heian in 794. This section follows a similar pattern to the previous one, opening with a discussion of script and the advent of *man'yōgana*

³⁴ Ibid., 81-82.

and *katakana*, followed by a discussion of Nara period prose, divided between imperial edicts, the *Kojiki*, and the *Fudoki*, and finally a chapter on Nara-period *waka*, which, with numerous examples from the *Man'yōshū*, dwarfs the previous sections. However, the introduction also devotes some discussion to *Nihon shoki*. Mikami and Takatsu write,

The first two volumes record legends (*densetsu* 伝説) from the separation of yin and yang until Ugayafukiaezu, and therefore are called divine age volumes. They are not only the scriptures for those who revere the gods (*keishinka* 敬神家), but, along with the *Kojiki*, are the only record of the ancient period of our country, so their value goes without saying. Even though the whole text is in Chinese, for the songs from the divine age onwards, though their letters are sinographs, they refer to our country's sounds (*kokuon* 国音), and because they are recorded just as they were passed on by word of mouth, we in the present can know what kind of things these songs, that is, the seeds of Japanese literature, are.³⁵

Note the negotiation demanded by the hybridity of the *Nihon shoki* because it contains both prose sections in Literary Sinitic and verse using sinographs phonetically. The appraisal of the *Nihon shoki* is divided between its religious significance, historical value, and, with regards to literature, its nature as a repository of the ancient vernacular. However, the majority of the text is not treated as literature because it is in Classical Chinese. The same treatment is given to the *Fudoki*, which is noted as having little value for national literature excepting the *kunibiki* discussion in the Izumo *Fudoki*, which also employs the vernacular.

In contrast, the *Kojiki* receives more extensive discussion, beginning with the preface and how the text was compiled. Mikami and Takatsu relay the uniqueness of the text, which “is neither pure Chinese like the *Nihon shoki* nor is it our national language written using sinographs like imperial edicts or *norito*,” and give a translation in contemporary Japanese of Amaterasu's

³⁵ Ibid., 97-98.

egress from the heavenly rock cave, Susano-o's defeat of the giant serpent, and Ninigi's descent from heaven.³⁶

The three volumes of the *Kojiki*, from an imperial order given to Ō no Yasumaro, record the traces of history from the creation of our country until the reign of Empress Suiko. Of records of the legends of our country's ancient period, this book is the oldest, followed by the *Nihon shoki*. . . Emperor Tenmu lamented that the ancient transmissions (*koden* 古伝) had in some places been lost and in others had gradually become distant from the truth. Hieda no Are, being of broad learning and retentive memory, studied how to read aloud the legends of the ancient period...³⁷

Naturally, the inclusion of selections from the *Kojiki* text itself, and not just from its songs, is based on Mikami and Takatsu's evaluation that despite being neither in Chinese nor Japanese, that Yasumaro endeavored to record the text in Japanese. Moreover, they believed that the second and third volumes of the text merited less attention than the first as it relied less on Chinese, undoubtedly because Yasumaro was recording the actual words of the divine age and the gods themselves.

They conclude the chapter with extensive selections from the *Man'yōshū*, which they take as the pinnacle of national literature in the Nara period. In describing its virtues, they write,

The Nara court was the age of *waka*. From the sovereign at the top to the humble man at the bottom, everyone composed poetry. Accordingly, what is included in the *Man'yōshū* is none other than this purity. The *Kojiki* and selections from the *Nihon shoki* form the beginning of our national literature, and because the *Man'yōshū* is the zenith of our national writings, it is precisely the Nara period which should be called the dawn of our national literature.³⁸

Their emphasis on the participants in poetic composition going from the emperor all the way down to the common man has been discussed extensively by Shinada as the reason why

³⁶ Ibid., 125.

³⁷ Ibid., 122-123.

³⁸ Ibid., 137.

Man'yōshū was invented in the Meiji period as the first national poetic anthology.³⁹ Moreover, the respective placement of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* within the canon as Mikami and Takatsu have constructed it becomes abundantly clear. The poetry in these two works formed the seeds of Japan's national literature and poetic tradition, and this tradition, after the importation of sinographs, reached its fullest potential in the Nara period and the poetry of the *Man'yōshū*. Where *Kojiki* could to some degree also be placed within the scope of Nara literature, *Nihon shoki*'s primary use was to push the origins of Japanese literature back before the importation of sinographs. By doing this, and despite the uncivilized characterization of the divine age Mikami and Takatsu outline, the national literature tradition could be wholly domestic in origin and shared by the whole of the Japanese populace.

Script, Literature, and *fubun no bungaku*

The *fubun no bungaku* that Mikami and Takatsu introduced allowed them to create a literary tradition that did not have its origins strictly connected to script itself, but rather existed *a priori* and developed after script was introduced. Where Mikami and Takatsu were the first to write a complete history of Japanese literature that grappled with the script issue, several other histories of Japanese literature that appeared shortly thereafter adopted the same position. For example, Ikebe Yoshikata (池辺義象, 1861-1923) and Masuda Ushin (増田于信, 18??-19??) also attempted to tackle the issue in their 1892 *Chūtō kyōiku nihon bungaku shi* (History of Japanese Literature for Secondary Education). Ikebe is familiar from the previous chapter, as he was one of the most vocal critics of Naka Michiyo's revision of the *Nihon shoki* chronology and also a graduate of the University of Tokyo Classics Course. Ikebe and Masuda opened their

³⁹ See Shinada Yoshikazu, *Man'yōshū no hatsumei: kokumin kokka to bunka sōchi to shite no koten* (Shin'yōsha, 2001).

history of Japanese literature by asserting that literature existed in the ancient period despite the lack of script.

In our country, while it is true that there was ancient literature, there was no method by which to record it. However, it is sufficient to regard the language and poetry that was transmitted as the true origin of literature. For example, the words “marvelous” spoken when Izanaki and Izanami circled the heavenly pillar, the poem “eight-fold clouds rise” when building his palace at Suga, Shitateru hime’s statement of her affection for her brother, and the series of poems about the conjugal feelings of Ōnamuchi are all called “heavenly words (天語 あまごと)” or “divine words (神語 かむかごと)”...⁴⁰ Are these not the origins of literature?⁴¹

Their introduction continues to briefly outline the history of Japanese literature following the introduction of script until the beginning of the Meiji period. Whereas Mikami and Takatsu introduced a non-written literature that could not be considered true literature, Ikebe and Masuda simply assert that vocalizations, which they primarily take from *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, constitute literature. This allowed for a domestic source for national literature that would then develop along with external stimuli, such as the importation of script, Buddhism, and contact with the West, and internal events, such as the growth of *kana* literature in the Heian period. Ikebe and Masuda also place a tremendous emphasis on education, detailing the schools and institutions that developed in each period and their role in furthering literature.

In terms of organization, they took a starkly different approach from Mikami and Takatsu. Rather than grouping literature by period, they divided it based on form and content. Following the introduction, the second chapter discusses the creation of schools and the third literary fields,

⁴⁰ Ikebe and Masuda continue by citing several other episodes from Japanese mythology they understood as containing an oral element.

⁴¹ Ikebe Yoshikata and Masuda Ujin, *Chūtō kyōiku nihon bungaku shi* (Hakubunkan, 1892), 1-2.

each of which is historicized.⁴² These two chapters comprise half of the book itself and reflect both Ikebe and Masuda's focus on education and schooling, which explains inclusions such as "western studies" (洋学) in their history of Japanese literature. Many of the first examples of fields are drawn from entries in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. For example, medicine begins with the treatment of Ōnamuchi after he suffered burns, a *Kojiki* episode, followed by the transmission of the healing arts to mankind from Ōnamuchi and Sukuna bikona, taken from *Nihon shoki*.

The last half of the book discusses script, prose, *waka*, *kanshi*, history, and *shōsetsu*. Importantly, the prose section is divided into *kanbun* and *wabun* and *kanshi* are included as a separate chapter; where Mikami and Takatsu moved to exclude the *kanbun* corpus from Japanese literature, Ikebe and Masuda explicitly included it. The *wabun* and *kanbun* sections are of roughly equal length, and *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* serve as examples for both. In speaking of *wabun*, they write,

Wabun arose from the language of the ancient period. The beauty of the ancient words can be known from the *Nihon shoki*, where it records Amaterasu praising the humble words of Ama no Koyane, "Although many people speak like this frequently, there have never been words as beautiful as these." Although the *Kojiki* was composed in the Nara period, because its words are entirely passed down from ancient times, it is largely possible to inquire into the ancient words of antiquity.⁴³

The inclusion of this particular section of *Nihon shoki* as *wabun* reflects the difference in perception of orality between Mikami and Takatsu and Ikebe and Masuda; where Mikami and Takatsu would only consider material written phonetically, Ikebe and Masuda treat the act of speech itself as an example of ancient language. The sentence they cite from *Nihon shoki* is in

⁴² Chapter two is divided into university, *kokugaku*, private schools, *bakufu* schools, and *han* schools. Chapter three is divided into Chinese studies, Japanese studies, Western studies, phonology, medicine, calendars and astronomy, mathematics, orthography, and art.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 122.

Literary Sinitic, but it is included in the category of *wabun* because the content refers to direct speech.⁴⁴

In discussing *kanbun*, Ikebe and Masuda write first about the scribes dispatched to Yamato and Kōchi in the reign of Ōjin, but as none of their writings are extant, they cite as their first example written material from the reign of Suiko cited in the *Iyo fudoki* (this text is no longer extant, so they cite citations of it from *Shaku Nihongi*). They also note the inscription on the Yakushi statue at Hōryūji and inscriptions on tombs. When discussing national histories, they write,

Prince Shōtoku and Soga no Umako wrote a national history together, and while that document no longer exists, there is no doubt that it was written entirely in *kanbun*. After that the Ritsuryō code was written in *kanbun*. The *Nihon shoki*, compiled in the Nara period, continues to be read in the present. However, the oldest material that uses the style of this kind of prose is Ō no Yasumaro's preface to the *Kojiki*.⁴⁵

Ikebe and Masuda considered *kanbun* to be part of Japanese literature, and they included *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* in both the categories of *wabun* and *kanbun*. They continue to cite other *kanbun* materials through the Tokugawa period.

A similar balanced approach between Japanese and Chinese language materials follows in Ikebe and Masuda's discussion of poetics. As expected, *waka* begin with Susano-o's poem in the ancient period and they continue with an extended discussion of *tanka* and *chōka*, followed by extremely brief remarks on *renga* and *haikai*. Discussion of *kanshi* begins with Prince Ōtomo (大友皇子, 648-672) and Prince Ōtsu (大津皇子, 663-686) and again carries through to the Tokugawa period. They continue with a discussion of histories, which includes both *Kojiki* and

⁴⁴ It is worth mentioning that Ikebe and Masuda here combine two variants of *Nihon shoki*; the version in which Ame no Koyane offers a prayer is variant 1, but the response of Amaterasu is in variant 2. In variant two, it is Futodama who says the prayer.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 133.

Nihon shoki, and conclude with *shōsetsu*, which strangely enough also include *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. They write,

In our country, from long ago these have been called *monogatari*. The stories like the rabbit from Oki in the *Kojiki* and the story of the deer of Togano in the *Nihon shoki* are the origin of *monogatari*.⁴⁶

Several points stand out in comparison to Mikami and Takatsu. First, as stated before, is the inclusion of literary Sinitic materials in the corpus of Japanese literature. Second is the usage of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*: since Ikebe and Masuda are using content without regard for how that material is inscribed, and further, because *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* are collections of materials rather than discreet texts, these two materials can serve as the base for a wide range of schools and genres. This also allowed the base for all of these genres be set in the ancient period; while Ikebe and Masuda never formally define exactly when this is, the majority of these origins would fall prior to the 710 move to Nara.

Part of the difference arising in Ikebe and Masuda's work is the idea of *bungaku* itself. As Tomi Suzuki has noted, Meiji historians of literature were conflicted between two ideas of literature, literature as humanities or general studies, and literature as *belles lettres*. For Mikami and Takatsu, while thought, feeling, and imagination were the components of *junbungaku*, thought, especially rational thought, was the vehicle for escaping a state of uncivilization. Ikebe and Masuda are more clearly regarding literature in the broadest possible sense; this is reflected in how they are using classic texts, especially *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, as well as in the organization of their history around a wide array of fields and genres. The placement of *shōsetsu* at the very end of their history also reflects a more traditional view that took pure fiction as the lowest form of humanistic writing. In particular, Ikebe and Masuda were more interested in law

⁴⁶ Ibid., 212. The rabbit of Oki is from the first volume of the *Kojiki*; the deer of Togano are from the record of Emperor Nintoku in *Nihon shoki*.

and education. They published, along with Hagino Yoshiyuki (萩野由之, 1860-1924), *Nihon kodai hōten* (Ancient Japanese Law) in the same year as their *History of Japanese Literature for Secondary Education*. Two years earlier, Ikebe and Masuda also began putting out their *Complete Works of Japanese Literature*, a collection of classical works for use in primary and secondary education.

The understanding of *kokubungaku* as the materials appropriate for an educational setting also represents a shift from an older position in which *kokubungaku* were simply written materials generally. A relevant example is a short exchange between Konakamura Kiyonori (小中村清矩, 1822-1895) and several anonymous contributors in *Nihon bungaku* (renamed *Kokubungaku* in 1889). Konakamura was the primary instructor for the classics course at the University of Tokyo, one of the first curricula for the study of Japanese documents, and Ikebe, Ochiai, and Hagino were three graduates of the course. Konakamura begins with the article “Process for Revising National Literature” (国文学を修むる順序, 1889), where he writes that:

People born in the imperial country [Japan] should first study the origins of the goodness and beauty of the national polity, the general outline of facts of the historical courts, and the mysterious influence of words by means of old writings, whereby knowledgeable enlightenment will present itself.⁴⁷

Konakamura then splits national literature into three categories: history, law, and language (歴史学, 法制学, 言語学). History begins with the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and continues through the six national histories, the mirror books,⁴⁸ *Fūsō ryakki*, *gunki*, and the *Dai nihon shi*, among others. Law begins with Shōtoku’s precepts and the *ritsuryō* code and continues through the

⁴⁷ Konakamura Kiyonori, “Kokubungaku o osamuru junjo,” *Nihon bungaku* 16 (1889): 1.

⁴⁸ Ōkagami (The Great Mirror), Imakagami (Today’s Mirror), Mizukagami (The Water Mirror) and Masukagami (The Clear Mirror).

various legislative materials written by successive courts and shogunates. Language begins with the songs in the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Man'yōshū* and continues with the imperial poetry anthologies, *Ise*, *Genji*, *The Pillow Book*, and the *Tosa Diary*. For Konakamura, national literature is a combination of public documents directly connected to the state and materials in pure Japanese, however, whether something is written in Literary Sinitic, mixed script, or any other variation is not determinant of whether or not it can be part of the canon.

An alternative approach appeared in the same journal two weeks later, authored under the pseudonym Anmisai Fujin (安美齋夫人), called “Theorizing the Teaching Method of National Language and National Literature” (国語国文の教授法を論ず).⁴⁹ The author, while not directly criticizing Konakamura, questions the efficacy of Edo-period methods of education that centered on repeated reading of the classics, and is presumably a criticism of the teaching methods at the University of Tokyo Classics Course (1882-1888) and the Imperial University Department of Japanese Literature (est. 1889), both of which Konakamura taught at. Students in the present, the author asserts, have many more subjects to study than their Edo-period counterparts, and so education in national literature should adopt a more efficient approach incorporating grammar and practical skill in composition. The author enumerates five goals for national literature and national education: understanding the connection between language and mentality, understanding the connection between grammar and logic, using favorable methods that apply to all school subjects, fostering a patriotic spirit, and using favorable methods that increase analytic ability and forge a stronger mentality. Grammar, reading, and original composition would form the base for achieving these goals. The emphasis on grammar is notable considering that Ikebe and Ochiai

⁴⁹ Anmisai Fujin, “Kokugo kokubun no kyōjuhō o ronzu,” *Nihon bungaku* 18 (1889), 43-46.

published their *Japanese Grammar for Intermediate Education* (中等教育日本文典) the following year.

Five months later, the magazine in which both of these articles had appeared, *Japanese Literature* (*Nihon bungaku*) changed its name to *National Literature* (*Kokubun*), to which Konakamura published “Inquiry to the Editors” (諸君に質す). For Konakamura, this was only a superficial change, and wrote that he did not understand the principle behind it. He wrote,

...therefore, the thing called national literature is made up of history, law, and prose (national language also falls into this). Therefore, this magazine changing its name to *National Literature* refers to the literature of our country, accordingly there is no change going forward in [now] calling this “Japanese literature. To say it differently, I thought it was the same as in the past, when Japanese Studies (*wagaku*), nativism (*kokugaku*), imperial studies (*teigaku*) etc. changed in accordance with the times. When I asked “how does this sound,” others laughed and said that if it was as I suggested, and the label national literature applied to study of things Japanese in the broad sense, then it would be fine to not set up a Department of National History apart from the Department of National Literature in the Faculty of Letters. Moreover, the name of the Training Course for National Literature and History (*Kokubun kokushi kōshūjo*) could just be called the Training Course for National Literature.⁵⁰

Put shortly, Konakamura was having difficulty understanding what the difference was between *kokugaku* and national literature, and was working from a totally different idea of what constituted national literature.

An anonymous reply to Konakamura appeared in the following issue that falls in line with the positions seen above in the Anmisai article and Ikebe and Masuda’s approach to national literature. The article, “Stating the Definition of Literature and Responding to Dr. Konakamura” (国文学の意義を弁じて小中村博士に答ふ), stated that *kokubungaku* as it appears in the title of the magazine referred to the literature of the Great Japanese Empire, and that this literature, which exhibited the peerlessness of the national polity, was what should form

⁵⁰ Konakamura Kiyonori, “Shokun ni shissu,” *Kokubungaku* 21 (1890): 52.

the marrow of primary education.⁵¹ The same article mentioned the history written by Mikami and Takatsu, saying that their work took a narrow meaning of literature as “pure literature”

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(醇 文 学) but that this was not the definition being used for this magazine. *Kokubun* would employ the broadest meaning of the word, which should be used interchangeably with, written in katakana, “national literature.” Further, under this meaning, the criticism Konakamura expressed was inappropriate.

This gives three different definitions of national literature which are all in play contemporaneously. For Konakamura, national literature was simply a new name for what had, in the past, been termed *kokugaku*, and broadly included all literary materials. The anonymous authors of these articles, like Ikebe and Masuda, sought to distinguish national literature from previous traditions as something intimately tied to the uniqueness of the national polity and as the base of elementary education. However, they overlap with Konakamura in terms of the materials themselves. Finally, Mikami and Takatsu took national literature as a part of civilizational history and sought to restrict the definition to *belles lettres* and material written in the Japanese language. *Nihon shoki* would fall within the scope of the first two definitions, but the Literary Sinitic inscription of the text meant that only the poetry would be useable for the third. Notably, these distinctions also roughly speak to generational differences between their proponents. The broad definition centered on history, law, and prose and indistinguishable from earlier traditions advocated by Konakamura reflects the faculty of the Classics Course. The move towards educational standards and emphasis on the “national” component of national literature is seen in the graduates of the Classics Course like Ikebe and Ochiai. Finally, the civilizational history usage reflects the first generation of graduates from the Imperial University Department

⁵¹ Anonymous, “Kokubungaku no igi o benjite Konakamura hakase ni kotau,” *Kokubungaku* 22 (1890).

of Japanese Literature like Mikami and Takatsu. On that note, Mikami notes in his memoirs that the contrasting opinions of the Classics Course graduates and of the literature department's graduates were a frequent source of tension.⁵²

Another approach for ensuring that the Japanese literary tradition would begin independently of the importation of sinographs would be to widen the idea of what constituted script so that it would be possible to say that writing did exist in the archipelago prior to their importation. This is precisely the angle taken by Suzuki Hiroyasu (鈴木弘恭, 1844-1897), a professor at Tokyo Women's Normal School (東京女高師), in his 1892 *New Outline of the History of Japanese Literature* (新撰日本文学史略). He writes in the first chapter of his outline, "Literature prior to the Foundation Year,"

While it is not definitive, with some saying that in the ancient period of our country there were no letters, and others saying that there were, my opinion is that there was not convenient or valuable script resembling the fifty sounds. However, while there was nothing like the script of later eras, I surmise that there probably were some small markings like circles, triangles, squares, and shapes of trees, grass, birds, and fish.⁵³

Suzuki bases this assumption on the history of sinographs. He goes on to discuss Atsutane's theory of the *jindai moji* that were rejected by Mikami and Takatsu, and while Suzuki does mention the similarity of these to *hangul*, he does not dismiss Atsutane and goes on to discuss a universal theory of script creation based on lines, curves, and dots. In short, Suzuki imagines that writing in some form did exist on the archipelago based on how script developed in other parts of the world.

⁵² See Mikami, *Meiji jidai no rekishi gakkai*. Ochiai was upset that he was fired as a professor from the Daiichi kōtō chūgakkō by Sawayanagi Seitarō, for which he blamed Ueda Kazutoshi and Haga Yaichi, though Mikami adds that these two had nothing to do with Ochiai's failings as a lecturer.

⁵³ Suzuki Hiroyasu, *Shinsen nihon bungaku shi ryaku* (Seisandō: 1892), 1-2.

Regarding the literature of the ancient period, Suzuki writes:

The above applies to the period from the age of the gods until the ancient period (that is, from before the foundation year until around 950 years after it). However, in this period much of what should be considered literature has not been transmitted. Also scholars among those who have heard it are not clear on the details. Only there are songs that have been passed on since the divine age, and because they are recorded in the classics, one or two of them should be raised here. However, the classics, that is, the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and others were written some hundreds of years later, but there is no doubt that the songs were composed by people in the ancient period.⁵⁴

Like other scholars of the period, Suzuki is using the songs from *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as the hard evidence of literature from the divine age. He provides examples of poems by Susano-o, Yachihoko, and Princess Nunakawa. While he gives extensive commentary on the meaning of the poems individually, he does not describe any of the qualities of the era itself. The poems are all related to conjugal relations, and perhaps Suzuki envisioned poetry related to male-female relations as representative for the period.

The following chapter deals with literature after the foundation year, and Suzuki takes the period to go for around one thousand years, from Jinmu to Ōjin. Again, the songs from *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* form the entire basis for literature in this period, and he gives as examples two poems by Jinmu, one by his wife Isukekori hime, two by Yamato Takeru, one by Ototachibana hime, one by Yamato Takeru's retainer, one by Empress Jingū, one by Takeshiuchi no sukune, and two by Emperor Ōjin. Again, Suzuki does not explain why he has divided the periods in this way, though he is clearly following the *Nihon shoki* chronology literally, so combining the pre-Nara eras would represent an enormous amount of time for him. Perhaps he also took the founding of the empire as a epochal event that warranted separation from the divine period, or he wanted to reinforce the binary between the divine age and the age of men. The following period,

⁵⁴ Ibid., 8.

on pre-Nara literature, extends from Nintoku to Genmei, and reflects the importation of sinographs and their effect on the development of Japanese literature. He opens the chapter saying,

The reign of Emperor Nintoku falls around one thousand years after the foundation year. From the peak of this reign, the elites gradually trended toward becoming fond of continental studies. This period should be recognized as containing the fragrant buds that progressed to the zenith of our country's literature.⁵⁵

In addition to more poems from *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, Suzuki adds the *norito* for the *kinensai* festival and writes that these *norito* are the beginning of written Japanese materials (国文).

However, this is not to be confused with the beginning of Japanese literature, which for Suzuki, begins in the divine age as demonstrated by the songs in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.

The fourth chapter on Nara literature asserts that this period was the peak of literature in the distant past, and cites the Taihō code, the *Kojiki*, the *Fudoki*, the *Nihon shoki*, and the *Man'yōshū* as examples for the period. Where Mikami and Takatsu had largely excluded the *kanbun* corpus, Suzuki includes materials like the Taihō code that are in Literary Sinitic. He does not go as far as Ikebe and Masuda to make room for *kanbun* materials, for example by introducing *kanshi*, but neither does he have the hesitation of Mikami and Takatsu. For Suzuki, usage of sinographs to write was simply a characteristic of the literature of the period. He writes,

In this period, continental studies gradually peaked, and because composition of writings using sinographs became progressively more skillful, and materials compiled at the time all completely have the appearance of Classical Chinese. For example, the Taihō code in the reign of Emperor Monmu, the *Kojiki* and *Fudoki* in the reign of Empress Genmei, the *Nihon shoki* in the reign of empress Genshō, and, though it was not by imperial degree, the *Man'yōshū* in the reign of Empress Kōken are all compiled using sinographs.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Ibid., 30.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 54.

As the *Kojiki* and *Man'yōshū* (as well as parts of the *Fudoki* and *Nihon shoki*) are not in Literary Sinitic, it appears that Suzuki equates a material being written using sinographs with being in the “appearance of Classical Chinese” (漢文の体裁), though he later notes that the form of *Nihon shoki* is not in the “simplistic” style of the *Kojiki* or *Fudoki*. For Suzuki, because writing in some form and literature existed in the divine age, the actual script and format used is not an issue. Moreover, literature as a category applies to all written materials.

The disagreement as to what constituted literature, its relation to writing and the older meaning of *bungaku* as written material, and how the time periods of literature should be grouped between Suzuki and Ikebe / Masuda was the subject of a December 1892 review by Haga Yaichi. Haga also included a review of Ōwada Takaki's 1892 *History of Japanese Literature* (和文学史); Ōwada was a professor at Tokyo kōtō shihan gakkō, but this work will not be addressed here. On Ikebe and Masuda, he wrote:

The meaning of “literature” here is excessively wide, and the parts that could be considered a history of literature are scant. It stops after only stating a rudimentary outline, and because there is no division between time periods, the unique form of literature in each time period cannot be seen in one collected place. Examples are not interposed, the authors' methodology is not given, and it does not remotely have the qualifications of a history of literature.⁵⁷

Haga's criticism reveals the split in what would constitute literature and a history of literature between the graduates of the Classics Course, like Ikebe, and the graduates of the Department of Literature, like Haga. Again, three positions are visible: the original position of the faculty of the Classics Course like Konakamura, for whom national literature was Japanese written materials, the students of the Classics Course, for whom national literature was the literary arts broadly and centered on materials relevant to education, and the first generation of students in the

⁵⁷ Haga Yaichi, “*Nihon bungaku shi, Nihon bungaku shi ryaku, Wabungaku shi*,” *Testugaku zasshi* 70 (1892): 544.

Department of Literature, for whom the history of literature was a part of the history of civilization.

Because Haga imagined the history of literature as a part of the history of civilization, he criticized Ikebe and Masuda for not including any kind of breakdown by period. In speaking about Suzuki's history, he criticized the periods Suzuki divided the periods into. He wrote,

New Outline of the History of Japanese Literature at any rate arranges the various forms of literature in accordance with historical time periods. It uses ten periods: before the foundation year, after the foundation year, Nara, Heian, Engi-Tenreki, post-Kanna, Kamakura, Ashikaga, and post-Keichō. Suzuki notes, "these period divisions are based on their convenience for presentation," but what is that supposed to mean? Could we also divide them into twelve periods or thirty periods based on convenience of presentation? This is suspect.⁵⁸

Haga would go on to criticize the relatively short descriptions of the literature of each time period, and noted rather that the primary value of this work was not as a history of literature but as an anthology or reader for national literature.

The critique of Ōwada's is slightly more descriptive, but centers on how Ōwada focuses on the changes in literary form from period to period but not changes in mentality. For Haga,

National literature expresses the unique mentality and feelings of our people, therefore, the history of national literature should describe the development of the disposition of the Japanese people. The history of national literature is in truth the essence of national history.⁵⁹

At this point, Haga's position on the history of literature is in line with Mikami and Takatsu. However, even dispensing with the perspectives of the Classics Course graduates, two related problems remained unsolved at this juncture, and it would be several years before Haga solved them. The first was how to theoretically formalize the "unwritten literature" that Mikami and

⁵⁸ Ibid., 544-545.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 546.

Takatsu had posited as the seed of Japanese literature. While it was desirable to keep the origins of Japanese literature in the ancient period, before foreign contact or the importation of sinographs, the emphasis that Mikami and Takatsu made on script rendered unwritten literature paradoxical and peripheral. Moreover, it would be several years before the idea of oral literature appeared in the Japanese academy. The second was how to conceptualize the ancient period itself: in the civilization-centered approach of Mikami and Takatsu, the ancient period was simple and unrefined, and development only occurred after the import of and fusion with foreign technologies and knowledge systems such as script and Buddhism. However, this presents the roots of Japanese uniqueness, where histories of literature would look for the origins of the Japanese mentality, as part of a barbaric undeveloped hinterland. Moreover, the civilization-based approach, despite Mikami and Takatsu's identification of some unique components, emphasized the universality of civilization rather than the particularities of culture. Haga needed a new formulation that could extol and revel in the ancient Japanese past rather than disparage it and keep it dependent on foreign imports for development.

Making the Spoken Word into Literature Proper

As mentioned earlier, Mikami and Takatsu discussed both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* in terms of ancient legends (上古の伝説), and the songs from these texts were “unwritten literature.” A similar treatment of literature and orality that warps oral transmission into proto-literature is seen in Haga's 1892 “Outline of Japanese Literary History” (日本文学史概要).

Note the emphasis on “literary works,” meaning physical writings.

Without inquiring whether passed down by word of mouth or recorded using script, every intellectual product created by the Japanese can be generally called Japanese literature (日本文学). However, this is the most broad meaning of Japanese literature, and the national literature of Japan (日本の国文学) only occupies one part of this. The national

literature of Japan is literary works [emphasis added] that express the unique mentality, feelings, and ethics of the Japanese people and encompass a natural Japanese disposition.⁶⁰

Hence, the spoken word is a part of Japanese literature speaking broadly, or rather, of the Japanese humanities. However, national literature is restricted to written materials.

In 1895, Haga published an essay under the name Kaisen entitled “On the Method for Compiling Histories of Literature” which attempted to clarify the sphere of national literature, as opposed to the humanities generally, and exactly how spoken material fit into it.⁶¹ First, he asserted that there was much confusion as to what constituted a history of literature, and that a history needed to go beyond simply charting the changes in prose and poetic form over time and evaluation of literary materials. While these are an indispensable component of literary history, the real focus should be on the changes in the mentality of the Japanese people, as literature was a memorial to the mentalities of people in the past. Because this mentality could also be sought in oral transmission, there was a clear place for it in the history of literature. In Haga’s words,

Therefore, what should we call Japanese literature, and what is the sphere of Japanese literary history? Simply stated, Japanese literature is a general term for the beauty of mentality written in script by the Japanese people, without theorizing that mentality or inquiring into its form. At any rate, that which takes the brilliance of the Japanese people’s mentality and forms it into written composition unequivocally belongs in the larger range of Japanese literature. However, when speaking of Japanese national literature, one part of this greater range, in its mentality and form, possesses some kind of particularity, and if this is demonstrated, it will certainly be easy to distinguish it from the national literature of foreign nations. The brilliance of this national mentality was, in the beginning, not entirely expressed using script, and for the legends, paeans, folk proverbs, and folk songs that were on everyone’s lips, when the poets gathered these and expressed them in literature [emphasis added], this also should be included in the sphere of national literature, and the value of a history of literature is not at all conceded to works of pure poetry and prose.⁶²

⁶⁰ Haga Yaichi, “Nihon bungakushi gairyaku,” *Kokubun* 3 (1892): 1.

⁶¹ See Shinada Yoshikazu, “Haijo to hōsetsu: kokubun kokubungaku Haga Yaichi,” *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 89-6 (2012).

⁶² Kaisen, “Bungaku shi hensan hōhō ni tsukite,” *Teikoku bungaku* 1-5 (1895): 12-13.

However, the one thing dubious thing that I cannot endure is that the study of literature be limited to written documents and not sought in the mouths of the living, that it is sought in the confined space of the cities and not enquired after in the vast countryside. Is a great number of books able to encompass the whole realm? Does the magnificence of the capital hold all of the good things there are? Even if we take rural speech as erroneous and search in rural customs for corruptions of earlier words; that effort can be a supplement to literature. Not to mention that the oldest words exist there, the folk songs are sung there, folk proverbs are used there, paeans are sung there, and dialects are pure there [emphasis added]. The poor and remote villages are a beloved library for national literary history compilation, and those who call themselves historians of literature should, after finishing examination of half of the history of literature in documents, casually take up their poetry sack,⁶³ leave the gates of the capital, enter into the countryside and investigate customs, go into the villages and investigate practices, listen to the songs of the woodcutters in the mountains, enjoy the children's songs in the fields, take down the words of the people everywhere, sometimes ask the elderly about songs, ask the young girls about songs for handball, and wander for ten years, broadly collecting everything. I hope that by then consulting the previous half of literary history and systematizing, a complete literary history can be obtained. Even if that is not the case, books that seek the history of literature within literature and do not know to seek it outside of literature confuse one nonsense after another and are more misguided than a procession of the blind.⁶⁴

The logic behind Haga's initial discussion inherits some of the *bunmei*-oriented approach seen in Mikami and Takatsu; the national literature of Japan should be distinguishable from that of foreign nations. However, where Mikami and Takatsu imagined an unremarkable period of barbarity or uncivilization prior to the creation of script (presumably because the state of uncivilization was the same everywhere), Haga extended the existence of a unique Japanese mentality to cover the pre-written period. In Haga's conception, the folk legends and traditions which would later serve as the base for poetic compositions were no less national literature than written materials. Whereas Mikami and Takatsu's "fubun no bungaku" was only a source for literature that would appear later, Haga formalized these materials as literature in and of

⁶³ *Uta bukuro* (歌袋), a sack for carrying around drafts of poems.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

themselves, moving the basis for literature from script and the written onto spoken word and the voice.

Shirane has discussed this move to some effect as the “minzoku turn” or “folk turn” in literature, which extended the search for literature to common and folk practices. While this is undisputable, it is important to note that at this early juncture, Haga imagined that the written material formed half of the body of natural literature and the oral traditions the other. This two-pillared system would later give way to the minzoku idea of literature described by Shirane that sought to redefine the Japanese mentality and national ethos as coming from the bottom-up as opposed to being top-down, but here Haga is trying to achieve balance between the two.

Finally, it is important to note that in Haga’s imagination, the oral traditions of the past continue to live on in the countryside. First, this formulation confirmed the unchanging nature of the national ethos that was the object of Haga’s examination: whereas urban areas continued to import new ideas and change, the countryside was a repository of the original forms, creating an ethos that would cover all Japanese, regardless of past and present or urban and rural. Secondly, the existence of such a repository suggested a method for writing a complete history of literature, as Haga describes in detail. After mastering the documents and written material, the historian of literature needed to venture into the countryside, participate in literary composition themselves (as suggested by the poetry bag), and endlessly collect the songs and ballads of rural areas.

Four years after publishing this article under a pseudonym, Haga put together a new history of Japanese literature that would form the backbone of Japanese literature for the rest of the pre-war period, a series of ten lectures compiled in 1899 (国文学史十講). They begin with a discussion of what comprises literature itself, and the emphasis on orality seen in the 1895 piece is present here as well.

The literature of our country begins in the divine age and continues unbroken to the present. In that period there are highs and lows and transitions. Now, before speaking on this, I want to say one word about the character of national literature as a whole. Generally, in literature, there is outer form and inner content...the outer form of literature is the Japanese language.⁶⁵

The literature of this [ancient] period also has many places where we see a pure Japanese style. To some degree the ideas of China crawl in, and the ideas of Buddhism can be acknowledged, but in general, this literature expresses the ideas since the divine age in pure Japanese (大和詞).⁶⁶

Two points stand out. First, Mikami and Takatsu, Suzuki, and others had begun their investigations with whether or not literature existed in the divine age and, as a corollary, whether script existed in these periods. Conversely, Haga notes that the outer form of literature is the Japanese language (whether spoken or written), thus overcoming this issue as raised in previous studies. Instead, Haga can simply state that literature existed in the divine age because Japanese existed at the time. Second, Haga imagines that there was an era of “pure Japanese” that predated the importation of foreign ideas, which creep into the language and change its literary products.

In terms of concrete products, Haga treated the *uta* in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and *norito* as pure Japanese, to which he added the *Kojiki* as a whole.

At this time, the first Japanese history was completed. The *Kojiki* directly records what people had orally transmitted through recitation (*denshō* 伝誦), so it can also be regarded as ancient literature.⁶⁷

As seen in Mikami and Takatsu, the non-*uta* sections of the *Kojiki* presented some difficulty in analysis because of the unique style of recording it employs. However, as the *Kojiki* was written down, it was certainly included in the body of literature (notably not from the ancient period).

⁶⁵ Haga Yaichi, *Kokubungaku shi jikkō* (Fuzanbō, 1899), 13-14.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 20.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 65-66.

The same applied to *Nihon shoki*, though Mikami and Takatsu held some ambivalence about *kanbun* and excluded other *kanbun* and *kanshi* materials. Ikebe and Masuda show a more extreme position that includes *Nihon shoki*, *kanbun*, and *kanshi* without issue. However, since Haga had moved the standard to focus entirely on language, in some sense he formalized and more rigorously defined the position of Mikami and Takatsu. The consequences of this formalization continue to the present, where *Kojiki* and *Man'yō* scholars dominate the arenas of ancient literature studies and *Nihon shoki*, *Fudoki* and *Kaifūsō* studies are relatively rare.

Incorporating Mythology

As seen in the previous chapter, Takagi Toshio (高木敏雄, 1876-1922) strove to distinguish mythology, history, and literature in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and their relationship with *minzoku* studies. Haga would begin incorporating mythology directly in his 1907 *Selections of National Literature in Chronology* (国文学歴代選). At this time, the idea of mythology becomes inextricably tied to the national polity.

The national history begins with mythology. Mythology clearly expresses our national polity and reflects the nature of our people...⁶⁸

Although the number of heavenly and earthly deities who appear in mythology is great, not one tried to resist [the rule of] the heavenly grandchild. When Amaterasu hid herself in the rock cave of heaven, the myriad gods held a divine assembly and conceived a divine plan, and earnestly begged the goddess to once again shine her brilliance throughout the six quarters. Top and bottom united with unparalleled loyalty, the division between lord and vassal was set, and with the imperial household as the direct successors of the scion of the heavenly grandchild, the people of the realm look up to the emperor in perpetuity as their head of the family...⁶⁹

The core of the livelihood of the people was agriculture. Amaterasu engaged in agricultural work, and raised a weaving hall and endeavored in farming and weaving.

⁶⁸ Haga Yaichi, *Kokubungaku rekidai sen* (Bunkaidō, 1907), 1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

This type of warmth and diligence in a sun god is not seen in the mythology of other countries.⁷⁰

Two important points arise. First, rather than seeing the *Kojiki* as mythology that legitimizes or explains the origins of the emperor system, Haga imagines that this mythology has a popular source. Given his previous position on oral transmission and national literature, treating mythology as a product of the people allowed Haga to fit it into what he previously described as the missing half of national literature. Moreover, because in this formulation the emperor system was not a historical incident, the origins of the system are obscured and the connection between the people and the emperor becomes timeless. Despite the relatively late appearance of the word mythology in Haga's work, Yoshida Hiroko has advocated that conceptually, mythology is part of Haga's 1898 *Ten Lectures*.⁷¹ This is based on a slippage of the term "legend" (*densetsu*) which, as seen in Mikami and Takatsu, increasingly came to characterize material transmitted orally prior to the introduction of script. At any rate, Haga seamlessly moved from describing *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* content as oral transmissions to describing them as mythology, though only the songs from these volumes would fall into the category of national literature.

Second, Haga uses this mythology as an example of Japanese uniqueness in a manner akin to Inoue Tetsujirō's 1895 *Past and Present of Japanese Literature* (日本文学の過去及び将来), discussed in the previous chapter. Inoue had treated the *Kojiki* as Japanese literature without probing the issue of script and whether it should really be counted as a literary text, but Haga, having secured the place of oral transmissions within the body of national literature, is here able to express the point from a more solid theoretical foundation.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 2-3.

⁷¹ Yoshida Hiroko, "Nihon ni okeru 'shinwa' gainen no sōsei," in *Higashi Ajia ni okeru chiteki kōryū: kī konseputo no saikentō*, ed. Suzuki Sadami and Liu Jianhui (International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2012), 259.

A more thorough discussion of mythology's position appears in Fujioka Sakutarō's 1908

Lectures on the History of Japanese Literature (国文学史講話).

Without being able to write script, they were not passed down as books, but through word of mouth, and after a thousand years the first accounts of the beginning of the country were written in the Nara period. There had grown distant from the facts, and just from knowing that they changed into fantasies, thereby the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* should not be seen as a history that records the facts of the ancient period, but rather the greater part of them is mythology produced in the imaginations of the *kokumin* of the ancient period. This is the most appropriate interpretation.⁷²

Here, *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* become inextricably tied to the *kokumin*. Fujioka goes on to split mythology into four categories, natural, heroic, explanatory, and animal, introducing a much more formal approach to incorporating mythology into Japanese literature than Haga had several years earlier. Similar to Haga, he also uses this opportunity to locate Japanese uniqueness in the body of myth.

The majority of our ancient mythology was already transmitted from before when the celestial lineage tribe wandered up to the distant beaches and settled in what is now Yamato...respecting the imperial house and honoring the ancestors is the unique beauty of our people, and we can see this at every turn in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.⁷³

Fujioka follows Haga in extending the range of national literature to include mythology, and his approach more closely resembles the type of mythology studies that arose at the end of the 19th century and treated mythology as a single body of material; Takagi Toshio's discussion of the *Kojiki* as "part literature part mythology part history" in the previous chapter illustrates the basis of this approach. Importantly, where Haga, who singled out language as the determinant of what material would fall into the category of national literature, had no room for the non-poetry

⁷² Fujioka Sakutarō, *Kokubungaku shi kōwa* (Tōkyō Kaiseikan, 1908), 40.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 45.

sections of *Nihon shoki*, Fujioka's less formal treatment allowed for taking *Nihon shoki* as literature at a conceptual level.

The move to incorporate mythology from the ancient period in the history of national literature as a popular product is both a response to the “minzoku turn” at the end of the 19th century as well as a co-opting of the relationship between mythology and the *volk* as it was imagined within that turn. Where Haga, as Kaisen, originally proposed a two-pillar system that would incorporate both the canonical material as well as popular, the canonical material quickly fell out of fashion as minzoku studies picked up. Consider Ueda Bin's treatment of the relationship between the people, mythology, and poetry in the ancient period.

The music of the court was an extension of Indian music and Koryō music, and not a unique endeavor of the Japanese people. Painting was modeled after the Tang style, and after a long time a Japanese style was appended to it. Architecture and sculpture both had their origins in foreign countries, and only *uta* took in the transmissions from the ancient period. However, these did not end up being adjusted by the court, and amongst the people they were poetically recited and transformed into mythology and legends and epic poetry; in contrast the fine arts of the court became progressively more estranged from the people.⁷⁴

Approaches by Takayama Chogyū and Takagi Toshio at the end of the 19th century continue in the same vein, taking the mythology of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as historical allegory that explains the history of Japanese origins and connects myth to the history of the people. Haga and Fujioka would borrow this folk connection and deploy it in the name of National Literature, making *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* (and *Man'yōshū*) products of the popular.

Expanding the Ancient Period

⁷⁴ Ueda Bin, “Bungei seiun no renkan,” *Teikoku bungaku* 5-1 (1899), 19-20.

The final issue in the positioning of *Nihon shoki* in the literary histories of Meiji concerns the periodization of Japanese literature as a whole. As seen in the literary histories discussed here, the issue of when the ancient period ended was under continuous revision throughout the period and, as seen in Haga's criticism of Suzuki, also under close scrutiny. Speaking more broadly, several historical occurrences tended to be the boundary between the ancient period and what would follow as either the medieval or the Nara period, or both. Taguchi Ukichi (田口卯吉, 1855-1905), writing in *A Brief History of Japanese Civilization* (日本開化小史, 1877-1882), made the split at the creation of the Nara capital, which he called "medieval" (中古奈良).⁷⁵ Writers of the scores of literary histories that appeared in the last half of the Meiji period gravitated toward the reigns of Suiko, based on Shōtoku's code of laws, compilation of national histories, emissaries to Sui, and spread of Buddhism, Kōtoku, when the Taika reforms were finalized and the early state took a formalized shape, Jitō, when most of Hitomaro's poetry was written, and Monmu, when the Taihō code was enacted, as the end of the ancient or prehistoric period. As seen above, Mikami and Takatsu's 1890 history used political divisions to organize literary history, but their Nara period included Jitō and Monmu so that Hitomaro's poetry would fall outside of the ancient period. Ikebe and Masuda used a genre-based approach, but Ikebe's 1902 *Nihon bungaku shi* (History of Japanese Literature) drew the line at Monmu, reflecting his interest in legal history.⁷⁶

The most telling comparison regarding periodization is Haga, who switched his position between his 1890 *National Literature Reader* (国文学読本) composed with Tachibana Senzaburō (立花銑三郎, 1867-1901) and his 1899 lectures. In 1890, Tachibana and Haga took

⁷⁵ Taguchi Ukichi, *Nihon kaika shōshi* (1884; reprint, Taguchi Ukichi, 1877), 16 front.

⁷⁶ Ikebe Yoshikata, *Nihon bungaku shi* (History of Japanese Literature) (Kinkōdō, 1902).

the same position as Mikami and Takatsu, claiming that literature could only develop after the importation of sinographs from the continent. While their introduction posits an ancient Japanese literature, they claim that this was “elementary and childish,” and the earliest examples of literature given, Hitomaro and Akahito’s poetry, would fall by Tachibana and Haga’s own divisions into the medieval period. This material, and the *Man’yōshū* itself, were products of Buddhist and Sinitic thought. On the *Man’yōshū* they write,

This is truly the first thing of value within our literature, and while this temporary extreme of prosperity resulted from the quiet conditions of the court officials at the time, the incorporation of refined mentality in literature was possible because of none other than the influence of Sinitic material and Buddhism.⁷⁷

Put shortly, the first ever meaningful literature in Japan was a direct product of continental influence and happened after the ancient period had ended, in what was seen as the more advanced civilization of Nara.

In his 1899 lectures only nine years later, Haga instead wrote:

The first, ancient period, began in the divine age, and as I have defined it until the end of the Nara period [emphasis added], this is a long period of around 1,400 years. During that period sinographs were transmitted from the three Korean kingdoms, and Buddhism also came [to the archipelago]. Also at the end of the period, because direct intercourse with China was established, even within this ancient period, there is a large degree of difference in the level of development. However, in this long period, the script of our country was still not invented, and accordingly there are few written documents that can testify to it in the present. The oldest of these are songs passed down by word of mouth and *norito* and history recorded in the Nara court. In the Nara court sinographs were freely created and the recording of the national language using sinographs reached its peak, so the various histories, gazetteers, and also things in the style of the *Man’yōshū* remain. In the Nara court, the influence of Chinese written materials came to a peak, and there is a significant difference from the simple form of antiquity. However, for the most part [emphasis added], the literature of this period still had many purely Japanese points. To some degree the Chinese mentality seeped in, and the mentality of Buddhism is also recognized, but generally [emphasis added], the mentality from the divine age is written down in pure Japanese. I have established this period of ancient literature as the period in which there was no native script.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Tachibana Senzaburō and Haga Yaichi, *Kokubungaku tokuhon* (Fuzanbō, 1890), so.

⁷⁸ Haga, *Kokubungaku shi jikkō*, 19-20.

First, Haga has expanded the ancient period to include the Nara period and everything produced during it, including the songs from the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* that were “passed down by word of mouth” and that do not appear in his 1890 work written with Tachibana. This expansion represents a reevaluation of the character of the ancient period itself; in Mikami and Takatsu and subsequent literary histories, this period was undeveloped and childish, evaluated negatively as a period before literature could be produced. Conversely, when it ended in the mid-seventh century, writing, Buddhism, law, and the Chinese Classics formed a radically different society and the first real Japanese literature. *Kojiki* would fall squarely into the middle of this, as would *Nihon shoki*, though depending on the position of the author this could mean only the songs from the *Nihon shoki*, its legends as an archive of early thought, or the text entirely. However, Haga’s new definition discarded the undeveloped, elementary image of the ancient period in favor of a new, purely Japanese mentality which could be seen in the songs of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* as well as the *Man’yōshū*. The inclusion, particularly of *Man’yōshū*, would buttress Haga’s claim that the ancient period included refined, purely Japanese literary works.

Second, the later underlined sections above demonstrate the kind of rhetorical gymnastics that Haga was using to make this expansion possible and negotiate the issues raised in previous histories of Japanese literature. While on the one hand he admits the importance of foreign elements, he does everything possible to minimize their role in ancient literature. Similarly, while he recognizes the period differences between the earliest material he includes, the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* songs, and the *Man’yōshū*, he places more emphasis on their continuity by connecting them through his idea of a Japanese mentality and by grouping them together into the same historical period. While this, on the one hand, reflects a move towards emphasizing a unique culture rather than a universal civilization, on the other hand Haga’s general

understanding of Japanese literature as a composite form of native and imported mentalities, seen in Mikami and Takatsu and others, is still present. Shinada claims that it would still take twenty years for a complete move away from literary history as part of civilizational history that would instead identify a popular literature or literature that embodied the hearts of the people.⁷⁹ Notably, the definition of ancient literature advanced by Haga in 1899 continues to be widely used in Japanese literature studies today, where “jōdai bungaku” describes everything written through the end of the Nara period.

Nihon Shoki and the Late Meiji National Literature Movement

Haga’s position regarding Japanese literature as a composite continued in his 1908 *Ten Theories on the Nature of the People* (国民性十論), where he wrote of the ancient period:

The people of our nation who built the state via respect for the gods and reverence of their ancestors, despite the fact that they later incorporated the civilizations of India and China, always did so in accordance with the nature of the people.⁸⁰

As before, Haga continued to downplay the foreign elements of Japanese literature and rather focused on perceived native elements. He applied the same logic to literature in the Meiji period.

Now the civilizations of East and West influence each other and continue to reconcile with each other. Above all else, in our country the mingling of the two is being realized the most clearly.⁸¹

Hence, the reception and placement of classical literature was a contemporary issue in more ways than one: not only was there a discourse surrounding national literature but this literature and the trends it expressed would expect to be seen in the present and in Japanese literature being

⁷⁹ See Shinada Yoshikazu, “Minzoku no koe,” in *Koe to moji jōdai bungaku e no apurōchi*, ed. Inaoka Kōji (Hanawa shobō:1999).

⁸⁰ Haga Yaichi, *Kokuminsei jūron* (Fuzanbō, 1908), 255.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 256.

written concurrently. This position applies to all of the material discussed in this chapter, and corresponds with what Shinada calls the “late-Meiji National Literature Movement,” a dedicated effort to create and stabilize a history and field for Japanese literary study. Shinada notes in particular the creation of *Teikoku bungaku* in 1895 as a watershed moment, and it is worth recalling that the opening essay in the first volume of the magazine by Inoue Tetsujirō, discussed in the previous chapter, centered on discussion of the *Kojiki*. Inoue wrote in the same essay,

Taking these foreign mentalities which were assimilated into the unique mentality of our country, from the previous era a national mentality that was more dually proficient in beauty was forged. Because of this, perhaps for the first time, it was possible to form a superior national literature that stood at the peak of world literature. For this reason, the national literature that can fulfill my hopes is formed from a comprehensive structure, and not just from simply blending the elements of each type.⁸²

Naturally, Inoue’s position here differed from Haga’s in 1899, where Haga pushed to diminish the importance of foreign elements despite having to reluctantly admit to their influence. However, it is important to realize that all of the intellectual efforts discussed here: the rejection of earlier definitions of “literature,” the formalization of oral transmissions as literature, the incorporation of mythology, and the revaluation of the divine age were part of a larger process that connected Japan’s literary past, present, and future. The position Haga takes in his 1895 article, written as Kaisen, should be read as his own position in terms of this late-Meiji National Literature Movement.

Because Haga’s conception of literature as seen in the *Ten Lectures*, which would continue to be reprinted until the end of World War II, focused primarily on the voice and oral transmission, the majority of *Nihon shoki* fell outside of literature’s purview. As seen in the previous chapter, it continued to be an important text for history and mythology studies, and with

⁸² Inoue Tetsujirō, “Nihon bungaku no kako oyobi shōrai,” *Teikoku bungaku* 1-3, (1895): 18.

reservation, in literature as far as literature incorporated mythology and legends. However, by and large studies of Nara-period materials focused on *Kojiki* and *Man'yōshū*; these two texts continue to dominate the field conventionally known in the present as “ancient literature” (jōdai bungaku). Still, as seen in the discussion above, the creation and stabilization of this field was a prolonged and contentious process that struggled with conflicting definitions of literature, the relationship between the script and voice, the basis of period divisions, and the place of mythology within the literary canon. *Nihon shoki*'s straddling of each of these issues makes it particularly illustrative of the debates and their stakes that eventually formalized the Japanese literary canon.

Afterword

This project has surveyed the reception history of the *Nihon shoki* from its first scholarly treatment in 812 over 1100 years, until the end of the Meiji era in 1912. The preceding chapters have presented only a small sampling of the rich and varied array of materials surrounding the *Nihon shoki*, but as noted in the introduction, there are several issues that remained consistent sites of contention and negotiation across period and genre boundaries. Some of these issues, such as the variants, are unique to *Nihon shoki* itself as a text, while others, such as the question of facticity, are shared with canonical texts in other traditions. The project also demonstrated the far-reaching connections of *Nihon shoki* scholarship to major issues in of different periods, such as the problem of reading a cosmopolitan, inter-regional register in a localized vernacular, the negotiation of new cosmological visions of the world with preexisting canonical material, and the uneasy deployment of an imagined mythical past by a modern empire and colonizing power.

The dissertation opened with a discussion of the lectures that took place in the ninth and tenth centuries; these ceremonies highlighted both the difficulties of reading *Nihon shoki* and the considerable effort Heian elites invested in doing so. The final chapter, discussing readers nearly a thousand years later, highlighted how problems of language still animated the perception of *Nihon shoki* and emphasized how the problems of its interpretation continued to be intimately linked to the form of the base text. In the Heian and medieval periods, this issue of textual form is especially important, as it reveals that the power of *Nihon shoki* to pull other texts into the canon as addendums and supplements was largely a consequence of its peculiar inclusion of multiple variant narratives. The same power is relevant to the most celebrated canonical works of the Heian period, *The Tale of Genji*, *The Ise Stories*, and the preface to the *Kokin wakashū*, as these works operated with the discourse on the *Nihon shoki* in their background and incorporated

it into their own stories. Further, commentaries on these works, such as the *Kakaishō* on *Genji*, would cite *Nihon shoki* in order to enhance their own positions.

The issues at stake in outlining the history of *Nihon shoki* reception go far beyond clarifying its differences with other texts in the premodern Japanese canon. Part of this is simply because, as seen in the “Hotaru” chapter of *Tale of Genji* or the kana preface to the *Kokin wakashū*, that the most important works of premodern Japanese literature frame themselves in terms of the *Nihon shoki*. This points to the more practical matter that for educated elites in the premodern period, knowledge of *Nihon shoki* was essential and expected, much as was the case for continental classics and major poetry anthologies. Even Ōe no Masafusa, who claimed to never have read *Nihon shoki*, still cited it. An understanding of *Nihon shoki* and how it was interpreted provides crucial preliminary knowledge requisite for engaging with elite literary products in general. Further, even when study of the *Kojiki* rose to prominence in early modern native learning schools, *Nihon shoki* continued to be the primary resource for textual exegesis, a point illustrated at length in Chapter 3. The true sidelining of *Nihon shoki* in Japanese literature took place in the mid-Meiji period due to concerns of national language, not because of proto-nationalist ideas in the early modern.

As noted in the introduction, *Nihon shoki* is beginning to rebound from the reduced value attached to it in present-day scholarship on ancient Japanese literature. The deconstruction of the Japanese literary canon at the end of the twentieth century, along with the identification and historicization of the ideology of national language, suggests it and other works in Literary Sinitic like *Nihon shoki* can again find a home in Japanese Literature departments. The field of ancient Japanese history has for some time repositioned itself within premodern East Asia and investigated important connections to the Chinese continent and Korean peninsula. As studies of

premodern Japanese literature, and Japanese literature generally, similarly struggle to shake off the fetters of the modern nation-state, it is my hope that *Nihon shoki*, written in Literary Sinitic but read in the vernacular, and presenting an idea of ancient Japan deeply rooted in inter-regional connections, can continue to gain traction as an object of study for literature scholars.

Directions for Further Study

While this project here has strived to be representative in its treatment of phenomena across a millennium of Japanese literary history, a number of major genres and movements have been neglected, and a more thorough incorporation of these materials would lend itself to revising and challenging the arguments presented here. This issue is most prominent for the late Heian and medieval periods, in which, as described in chapter 2, a large number of works and genres began incorporating material from *Nihon shoki* either in name only or in episodic fashion. For example, temple origin tales, which occasionally associated themselves with gods from the *Nihon shoki*'s divine age narrative, have been neglected here. *Tales of the Heike* was discussed briefly in connection with Jien, but many more links with *Nihon shoki* pervade the text, especially in the *Genpei jōsuiki* version. Similarly, *Taiheiki* was briefly mentioned with regards to the Urabe clan, but its own vision of imperial legitimacy connected with the regalia was omitted.

A more detailed study of religious issues is also warranted. The incorporation of Buddhist concepts was especially stressed in the cases of Jien and Ichijō Kaneyoshi, but a broader discussion of Buddhism and *Nihon shoki* cosmologies is warranted. Yoshida Kanetomo's commentary and the new school of Shinto he created, largely based on Kaneyoshi's theories, was also neglected. While the Yoshida school was not particularly resilient, it was an important

influence on Ansai's Suika school and that relationship deserves more attention. Similarly, Inbe no Masamichi's (忌部正通, ??-??) *Jindaikan kuketsu* (神代巻口訣, 1367) was omitted, although its incorporation of Song Confucian interpretations was another major building block for Ansai. A major reason these religious issues are important is that they contributed an esoteric, orally transmitted component to *Nihon shoki* study. Further, when assessing the sea change in techniques of philology in the early modern period, it is paramount to recognize that this involved the rejection of such secret, restricted, or esoteric modes of knowledge transmission, and that this characterizes not only national learning but also the Kawamura school.

The issue of religion in the modern period is also touched on only briefly, in the work of Ōkubo Yoshiharu in chapter 4. A deeper analysis of late nineteenth century Shinto, beyond its criticism of university historians, would yield one more important vector of *Nihon shoki* reception. The institutional nature of this component is particular important as it rose in parallel with the study of Japanese literature: Jingū kōgakkkan (神宮皇學館), the ancestor of Kōgakkkan University, was established in 1882, the same year as the University of Tokyo Classics Course. Further, the head of that classics course, Konakamura Kiyonori, was employed as a clerk after the Meiji restoration in the short-lived Jingikan (神祇官). Konakamura's pupil and graduate of the Classics Course Ikebe Yoshikata, whose views are discussed in detail in chapters 4 and 5, also adopts a fundamentalist reading of the *Nihon shoki*. It seems that religious and literary approaches diverged in the following generation as scholars in the Department of National Literature at the Imperial University relocated value away from facticity and towards literary aesthetics – Haga Yaichi argued for such a treatment of the *Taiheiki* in response to articles by Kume Kunitake and Hoshino Hisashi criticizing its veracity – but more study on this topic is warranted.

That Kita Sadakichi, Kume, and Hoshino were writing on the *Taiheiki* as well as ancient Japan and, as mentioned in Chapter 4, on ancient Korea, is itself intriguing. The same applies to literary scholars such as Takagi Ichinosuke. These parallels are certainly connected to the aspiration for a heroic age and national epic comparable to those of Greece and the countries of Western Europe. This, combined with the desire for a popular narrative, would eliminate Heian court literature from possibility and instead draw scholars to the ancient and medieval periods. A corollary stems from the gendered treatment of Heian literature; any heroic epic would be gendered masculine, again ruling out consideration of court literature and pointing to ancient legendary tales and military chronicles.

The comparisons with Western literature pursued by late Meiji intellectuals points to another arena for further study: greater cognizance of contrasts with other commentarial traditions. As discussed in the dissertation, two of the sites where *Nihon shoki* commentators frequently jockeyed for operating space are part of the text itself, the vernacular glosses and the variant accounts. Multiple competing accounts within a single text are not unique to *Nihon shoki*. For example, the differing accounts of Jesus' crucifixion in the Gospels have forced interpreters to intervene so that the narrative can remain cohesive. It is interesting that *Nihon shoki* includes these variant accounts so openly, rather than attempting to blend them together into something resembling the first two chapters of Genesis. The issue of vernacular glosses is shared with other East Asian traditions that used Literary Sinitic, and there are intriguing parallels and differences with European glossing of Latin texts. Perhaps the largest difference is that *Nihon shoki*, from the outset, presents itself as a text meant to be read in the vernacular.

Other issues, such as the negotiation of new worldviews with the existing canon, are a major issue in any commentarial tradition. In the case of *Nihon shoki*, in the early modern period

there is a particularly striking shift away from comprehensive or compendia-style works that widely incorporated earlier and sometimes conflicting material. To borrow terminology from the medieval Qur'anic commentarial tradition, exegesis is divided into tradition-based analysis (al-tafsīr bi-al-ma'thūr) that collects, often without noting internal tensions, layers and generations of material, and opinion-based analysis (al-tafsīr bi-al-ra'y). Norinaga's *Kojikiden* and the later works of the Kawamura school most closely parallel the latter, while everything between *Shakunihongi* and *Nihon shoki tsūshō* resembles the former. In handling multiple cosmologies, the tradition-based approach leads commentators like Kaneyoshi to perform intricate sleight-of-hand to ensure that all accounts dovetail, whereas the opinion-based approach favors the singular reading of the commentator, and any legerdemain to illustrate a particular ideology must be framed in terms of the base text only.

In any case, a wider cognizance of issues in textual exegesis and religious commentary outside of Japan would contribute immensely to identifying and clarifying the quandaries of reading the *Nihon shoki*. Because this text is central to the premodern Japanese literary tradition generally, to the negotiation of Buddhist and Confucian ideologies, and to the idea of what it means to be Japanese, understanding how it has been read is of unmatched importance in a wide array of fields in Japan studies. It is hoped that this project will serve as a jumping-off point for addressing these issues as well as stimulating dialogue on questions of textual exegesis, both in Japanese commentaries and those of other traditions.

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Appendix A

Record of the Western Palace

The procedure surrounding the readings themselves is described in detail in two entries in Minamoto no Takaakira's *Saikyūki*. The first is titled "Beginning lectures on the *Nihongi*" (始講日本記(sic)事) and is in the second temporary (臨時) section. The first reads as follows:

The minister receives an imperial order and determines the lecturer. Also the *myōgyōdō* (in the Imperial Academy) will present distinguished adjuncts and students. An auspicious day is decided and decorations are set up in the east room of the *Giyōden*. The ministers face south and the east is the position of honor at the base of the north wall. Those below the rank of Major Counselor (*dainagon*) but above the rank of *sangi* sit in a row facing east with the north as the position of honor. The lecturer's seat faces the easternmost part of the counselor seating and he faces west. South of him, facing west, is the seat for the adjuncts and students [who will assist him]. In the eastern corridor is the exterior hall (*magobisashi*) and veranda (*koitajiki*), and there the other lecture attendees, lesser counselors, external scribes, historians and scribes, students, and others sit. When it is time, the ministers and counselors enter from the left *konoefu*'s position. They each carry scrolls and tablets and enter from the eastern door, climb into the building and take their seats. The counselors climb in from the corner. The minister calls the lecturer (the words for this are in my diary), the external scribe replies to this and exits. Next the lecturer enters from the small door on the south side and directly climbs to his seat. Next the adjuncts and students enter from the same small door and sit in the eastern veranda (*koitajiki*). Then the lecture attendees and lesser counselors and attendants and others enter from the same small

southern door and sit in the eastern veranda. Next for the lecture one adjunct or student comes forward and sits in this seat [presumably next to the lecturer but it does not say]. Next the lecturer, that adjunct, and those lower than ministers take their scrolls. Next that adjunct recites the writing out loud. His manner should be tall and long. Next the lecturer lectures on the reading. When the adjunct finishes reading, the adjunct and lecturer leave. In two or three years time, the readings end and a day is decided upon which a banquet is held in a chamber of the palace.¹

The other section falls in the seventh temporary section of *Saikyūki* and has generally the same contents, though some details about attendees and seating are added and subtracted. Both articles are followed by a description of the concluding banquet and then a list of previous lectures that more or less replicates the information in *Shaku nihongi*. The section detailing the concluding banquet in temporary section two of *Saikyūki* reads:

The base of the west wall is set aside as the seat for minister[s]. In its place are stood two four-*shaku* folding screens (*byōbu*) and in front of it spread two layers of mat and one layer of cushion, and this is made the lecturer's seat. Also the seats for counselors and below are discarded and those from minister down to *sangi* are, in the east of the parent room, set up between the easternmost first and second pillars such that they face each other with the west side as the seat of honor. Desks are set up and food is prepared. However, the lecturer should have three desks before him. The *sangi* seats on the east veranda are set up as seats for the fourth rank, *ben*, and lesser counselors (*shōnagon*). The eastern first and second pillars in the south room are set up for servants, people in waiting, and stewards and below. Places not set up are for the adjuncts,

¹ *Saikyūki*, Shintō taikei: chōgi saiji hen ni, ed. Shintō taikei hensankai (Shinto Taikei Hensankai, 1994), pg 509-510.

students, etc [to sit]. Between the center pillars in the same southernmost room, a document stand is set up and decorated. Around one imperial prince and nobles enter from the left *konoefu*'s position. They come in from the southwest corner and go to the east, climb into the room from the southeast corner, split up and take their seats. Next the lecturer enters from the same southwest corner and climbs into the building and takes his seat. Next the adjuncts and students, etc, also take their seats. Next the *ben* and *shōnagon* and the attendants and stewards take their seats. Once everyone is in their seat, the external scribes place paper and brush and inkstones [in front of everyone]. One of the adjuncts or students approaches the document stand and opens a poetic composition [topic], then presents it to the imperial prince. Next the temporary servants each open one. However, those below the rank of minister who participated in the lecture all receive their poetic composition topic in advance. After three rounds of wine, the nobles present wine [to the imperial prince]. The writer of the preface presents the preface, then takes the box from the document stand and places it in front the seat of honor for the aristocrats that is in front of the lecturer. Next the external scribe takes the lamp and a scholar decided on beforehand is made to serve as the master. People read their *waka*. At this time, the imperial princes and the nobles put the *waka* that they wrote into the box. Then, the *ben*, *shōnagon*, retainers, and stewards etc draw near to the nobles and attend on them. Then the *koto* master of the *ō'utadokoro* plays the *koto* in response to the sound of the *waka* of the nobles read by the master. When the reading ends, the lecturer and adjuncts are each awarded presents in accordance with their status. However, these presents are given based on documents that circulate from the individual houses of the nobles.²

² *Ibid.* 510-511

Appendix B

Nihongi kyōen waka

The best edition of this text exists in two volumes at Kumamoto honmyō-ji. A facsimile of this edition is given in Nishizaki Tōru, *Honmyō-bon Nihongi kyōen waka : honbun, sakuin kenkyū* (Kanrin shobō, 1994). For a printed edition with commentary, see Umemura Remi, *Nihongi kyōen waka no kenkyū : Nihon goshi no shiryō to shite* (Kazama shobō, 2010). In keeping with Western stylistic traditions I have moved the names of the poets so that they follow the compositions. The numbers for the poems are also added for convenience.

[Poems from Gangyō 6 (882)]

*keburi naki
yado o megumishi
sumera koso
yaso tose amari
kuni shirashikere*

As the emperor
who showed mercy on the houses
from which no smoke rose,
for over eighty years
he ruled the state.

*ōsazaki
takatsu no miya no
ame moru wo
fukasenu koto o
tami ha yorokobu*

Ōsazaki [Nintoku],
because he did not plug up
the rain that leaked
from his palace in Takatsu,
the people were delighted.

Fujiwara no Kunitsune (藤原国経, 828-908)
Counselor for the Empress' Household

[Poems from Engi 6 (906)]

At the *Nihongi* concluding banquet, we each divided up historical topics and I received Kamuyamatoiwarebiko no sumeramikoto (Emperor Jinmu 神武, r .660 – 585 BCE), combined with the job of composing the preface.

The *Nihon shoki* was compiled by imperial prince Toneri, Ō no Yasumaro, junior fourth rank lower, and others. The age of the gods is divided into upper and lower, and the human emperors are in 28 volumes, making 30 volumes all together. They succeeded in writing what needed to be written and removing what needed to be removed. Since the summons to study this record in the Gangyō era (the previous 878 lecture), it has not been lectured on for more than 20 years. People now discreetly lament that the explanations of the teacher will be lost. In 904, an imperial order was issued for the head of the academy [Fujiwara no Harumi] to explain them. He humbly made inquiry of opinions, responded to the questions of those above him, raised the contradictions of previous teachers, and enlightened the eyes and mouths of his juniors. Indeed, there was no losing interest in his teaching, and his advice overflowed within our bosoms. He began on the 21st day, eighth month in autumn of the fourth year (904) and finished on the 22nd day, tenth month in winter of the sixth year (906). Then, on the 17th day of the intercalary twelfth month, small though it was, a concluding banquet was conducted in gratitude to the master. At that time, among the aristocrats and ministers that were serving in the court, there was none that did not attend. After many rounds of wine, the ears of those who attended the lectures were roasting,¹ and so we wrote poetry about the old histories, each proclaiming our feelings of connection [to the past] and sentiments. Mine was:

*tobikakeru
ama no iwabune
tazunete zo
akitsushima niwa
miya hajimeseru*

Seeking
the flying
rock-boat of heaven,
in Akitsushima
he built his palace.

¹ A Chinese expression for describing a state of intense interest and often paired with depictions of alcohol consumption.

This emperor was the father of prince Takishimimi no mikoto. When he was forty-five years old, he pronounced: “My heavenly ancestors enacted the correct path and ruled over this western land. After that, the distant lands have not yet been showered with kingly blessing.² The rulers of hamlets and chiefs of villages fight amongst each other,³ Also Shiotsuchi no okina said, ‘In the east there is someone who comes down riding a heavenly boat, and it is a beautiful country.’ That land is sufficient for me to first build my capital, broadly spread the heavenly endeavor, and it should be the center of the six directions of the realm.” All the imperial princes said in response, “This is truly the principle [of how it should be].” That year, the emperor led his army to conquer the east. Also the emperor made a tour and climbed a hill and said, “The shape of this country is like a dragonfly (akizu) licking its buttocks.” Therefore it was first had the name Akizushima. Akizu is the name of an insect.

Mimune no Masahira (三統理平, 853-926)

Senior secretary of the Ministry for Central Affairs and assistant governor of Suō
Junior fifth rank lower

4 On Kunitokotachi no mikoto

*Ashikabi no
kami no kizashi mo
tōkarazu
amatsu hitsugi no
hajime to omoeba*

The sprout of a god,
like the budding of a reed,
is not so long ago
when considering it is the beginning
of the imperial succession.⁴

Fujiwara no Harumi (藤原春海, ??-??)

Director of the Academy
Junior fifth rank lower

² The Chinese here is “猶未霑於王澤,” relying on a series of water metaphors. 澤 literally means “bog” but is used to mean blessings in the *Documents* and *Zhuang zi*. 霑 means to moisten but can be used metaphorically for receiving a blessing. The phrase is taken verbatim from *Nihon shoki*.

³ The phrase here is based on *Nihon shoki* but has been simplified into more aesthetically pleasing four-four phrase.

⁴ Ibid., 23-24.

5-6 Two poems on Hi no omi no mikoto

*Isaoshiku
tadashiki michi no
omugashisa
tote zo waga na mo
kimi wa tamahishi*

Bravely,
the happiness
of the correct road,
he said. My name also
was bestowed by my lord.

When Kamuyamato iwarebiko no mikoto (Jinmu) had led the imperial army and wanted to go into the central country, the mountains were extremely steep, and they did not know what road to go by. They were in a state of disorder and lamented. At night in a dream, Amateru ōkami said, “I will now dispatch Yatagarasu; he should be your guide.” Then a crow flew down from the sky. The emperor was very happy that his dream was realized. At that time the Hi no omi no mikoto led the army, and inquired of the crow where to proceed to, and looked up and saw it, then followed it. The emperor proclaimed “You are loyal and brave, and were able to lead us well. Therefore I am changing your name, which is henceforth be Michi no omi (Master of the road).

*Iwarebiko
miru ime samete
yatagarasu
ware to zo futari
michi ha oshiheshi*

Iharehiko
woke from the dream he saw
and Yatagarasu said
“It’s me!” and the two
of them showed the way.

Seen above.

Fujii no Kioymi (葛井清鑑, ??-??)
Student and *onshi*⁵
Junior eighth rank lower

7-8 Two poems on Ama no Hohi

*Ama no hohi
kami no mioya wa
yasakani no
ihotsu subaru no
tama to koso kike*

It is heard that
the parent of the god
Ama no Hohi was
the eight-foot string
of five-hundred jewels.

⁵ *Onshi* were those whose right to court rank was received from their parent’s position.

Susanowo took the five-hundred strung jewels wrapped around his right hair bun in his right hand and gave birth to Ama no Hohi.

*Kusaki mina
koto yameyo tote
ashihara no
kuni e tachinishi
isao narikeri*

Telling the grass and trees all
to stop talking,
he was a brave hero
who departed for the country
of the reed plain.

When Amaterasu was going to make her august descendant the ruler of the central reed plain country, there were evil gods in that country who buzzed like flies. Also, the grass and trees spoke. Takamusubi assembled the 80,000 gods and asked them, “Who should we send to expel the evil ones in that country?” They all said, “Ama no Hohi is a brave god.” So he was dispatched to pacify it, it is said.

Yatabe no Kinmochi (矢田部公望, ??-??)
Student and *onshi*
Junior seventh rank lower

9-10 Two poems on Kushintama nigihayahi no mikoto

*Soramitsu ni
ama no ihafune
kudashishi ha
hijiri no miyo wo
watasu tote nari*

In order to transmit
the sage’s august reign,
it was he who descended
in the heavenly rock boat
looking from the sky.

Kamuyamato iharebiko no sumera mikoto (Jinmu) attacked Nagasunehiko. Nagasunehiko dispatched a minister, saying “In the past there was a child of the heavenly gods. He rode a heavenly rock boat from heaven and descended. He is called Kushitama nigihayahi no mikoto. I serve him as my lord. Could it be that there are two children of the heavenly gods? How can you call yourself the child of the heavenly gods and steal away someone’s land?” The emperor

replied, “There are many children of the gods. As for the lord you serve, if he is truly a child of the heavenly gods, certainly he will have some proof of it, and we should show ours to each other. Nagasunebiko presented the heavenly feathered arrows and quiver, The emperor inspected them and said, “These are not fake.” Then he showed his heavenly feathered arrows and quiver in return. Nagasunehiko saw this proof and was filled with reverence. Also Nigihayahi no mikoto rode his heavenly rock boat about the sky. Therefore this country was called “Yamato as seen from the sky.”

*Hisakata no
ama no ha ha ya no
mukari seba
araburu hito wo
nani ka mukemashi*

If he did not have
the *hisakata*
heavenly feathered bow and arrows,
how would he have pacified
the rampaging people?

Seen above.

Fujiwara no Tadanori (藤原忠紀, ??-??)
Student and *onshi*
Junior seventh rank upper

11 On Ō Jinni

*Yo no naka ni
kimi nakariseba
karasu ha ni
kakeru kotoba ha
naho kienamashi*

If you were not
in this world,
the letters written
on the feathers of crow
would likely still be concealed.

Koma presented a document to the emperor in which the letters were written on crow feathers.

Because the crow feathers are black, the letters could not be known. Ō Jinni steamed the feathers on rice and then pressed them onto white silk. Thereby they could be read.

Fujiwara Hirofumi (藤原博文, ??-??)
Lesser private secretary
Junior sixth rank upper

12 On Kotoshironushi no kami

*Sumemimani
yashima wo sarite
nami no ue no
ao fushi kaki ni
tabii suru kana*

For the imperial descendant
you departed these eight islands
traveling on
the blue grass hedge
atop the waves.

Amateru ōkami wanted to establish the imperial descendant as ruler of the central country. She dispatched gods to the land of Izumo, who drove out and quelled Ōnamochi no kami. Ōnamochi no kami said, “Go as and ask my son, and then later come back and report to me.” At that time Kotoshironushi no kami was fishing at the cape of Miwa, so they put the messenger Inasehagi aboard a two-handed boat of Kumano and dispatched him, and he went and asked and came back and reported. Kotoshironushi no kami had said, “My *kazo* should humbly withdraw.” Therefore he made a eight-layer blue *shiba* hedge in the ocean and departed into it. *Kazo* means he father. *Shiba* means hedge.

Fujiwara no Suketaka (藤原佐高, ??-??)
Junior Assistant, Ministry of Ceremonial
Senior seventh rank junior

13 On Omoikane no kami

*Omoikane
tabakari goto o
sezari seba
ama no iwato wa
hirakezaramashi*

Omohikane,
if you had not done
all the things that you had,
the heavenly rock door
would not have been opened.

Amateru ōkami, because Susanoo no mikoto’s actions were lacking in propriety, went into the heavenly rock cave and closed the rock door, and hid away. Then the country became dark all the time, and the passing between day and night could not be distinguished. Omohikane no kami thought deeply and then assembled the long-crying birds of Tokoyo and made them crow. Then

he had Tachikarawo no kami stand at the side of the rock door. Amateru ōkami cracked the door and peekd out, then Tachikarawo no kami humbly took the great goddess' hand and humbly pulled her out. At that time the Nakatomi and Inbe no kami spread a rope from end to end and said, "Don't return again."

Abo no Tsunemi (阿保経覧, ??-??)
Senior Secretary of the Left
Senior sixth rank upper and Doctor of arithmetic*⁶

14 On Ametachikarawo no mikoto

*Tokoyami mo
tanoshiki miyo to
narikeri wa
ametachikarao
tasuke arikeri*

The unending darkness
and the wonderful august reign
came to be
because of the aid, I hear,
of Ametachikarawo.

Seen above in the section on Omoikane no kami.

Ato no Harumasa (阿刀春正, ??-??)
Senior Council of State Secretary
Junior fifth rank lower

15 On Sarutahiko

*Hisakata no
ama no yaegumo
furiwakete
kudarishi kimi o
ware zo mukaheshi*

He parts
the eight-layered clouds of heaven
in the sky;
it is I who welcome
this lord who descends.

When the august child of Amaterasu was going to descend to the Land of Abundant Rice, the herald returned, saying "there is a god at the eight-forked road of heaven." The great goddess dispatched Ama no Uzume, making her make inquiry of this god, who replied, "I heard that the august child of Amaterasu was going to descend, and wait here to welcome him. I am called

⁶ The asterix denotes a *gyō* (行) rank, in which the court rank of the person was considered too high for their appointment. The opposite case case was a *shu* rank (守).

Sarutahiko.” When Ama no Uzume returned and reported this information, the imperial descendant pushed open the rock cave of heaven, parted the eight-fold clouds with a majestic parting, and descended from heaven. So it is said.

Ki no Yoshimochi (紀淑望, ??-919)
Junior Assistant to the Punishments Ministry
Junior fifth rank lower

16 On Tamayoribime

*Shiranami ni
tamayoribime no
koshi koto wa
nagisa ya tsui ni
tomari nari kemu*

Among the whitecapped waves,
the coming
of Tamayoribime.
To the beach already
she had likely dwelt.

Tamayoribime is said to be the daughter of Watatsumi.

Ōe no Chifuru (大江千古, 866-924)
Senior Assistant to the Punishments Ministry
Junior fifth rank lower

17 On Futodama no mikoto

*Hisakata no
ameteru kami wo
inori to zo
eda mo suwewe ni
nusa ha shitekeru*

While saying
prayers to
Amateru kami,
even the branches on their tips
had paper streamers hanging.

When the sun goddess had shut herself up inside the heavenly rock cave, Ama no chigoya no mikoto hung paper streamers from a Masakaki tree and Futodama no mikoto prayed. The sun goddess heard the beauty of these words and cracked the rock door and peeped out. Tachikarao no kami has hidden at the side of the door and then pushed it open and pulled her out. The light of the sun goddess filled the entire country.

Mononobe no Yasuoki (物部安興, ??-??)
Director of the Office of Imperial Tombs

18 On Kashiwade no Hasubi

*Daremo ko no
kanashiki toki wa
mi wo sutete
tora no shita kiru
na mo tachinu beshi*

Who, in a time
when they are mourning their child
could risk their life
and rise to fame
by cutting the tongue of a tiger?

Hasubi had been dispatched as a messenger to Paekche, and he returned and reported saying “Your humble servant was dispatched, and my wife and child went along with me. When I arrived at the beach of Paekche, the sun was coming down and so we stopped. My child suddenly disappeared, and I did not know to where. That night there was a blizzard, and when it lifted I first went to look for the child. I found the tracks of a tiger. I took my sword and donned my armor, then loosed it when I reached the depths of the den, saying “I humbly received my lord’s order and came by this place. Loving my child, how could I not fulfill the duties of a father? Though you are an evil god, if you had a child would it not be the same? Last night I lost my child, so do not fear losing my life. I have come for revenge!” The tiger opened its mouth and tried to bite him, but Hasubi suddenly stretched out his left hand and seized the tiger’s tongue, then with his right hand he stabbed it to death. He took its hide and returned.

Fujiwara no Tadafusa (藤原忠房, ??-929)
Provisional Assistant Captain of the Guards of the Left⁷
Junior fifth rank lower

19 On Dan Yōni

*Itsu tomo no
fumi yomu hito
Dan Yōni
kore wo mune to zo*

The person who read
the five classics
was Dan Yōni.
Taking him as the founder,

⁷ A *shu* rank (see note 6).

tomo ni noritoru

we all follow his example.

Paekche presented a scholar of the five classics, then asked if he could be exchanged with Dan Yōni [who was already here]. In accordance with the request he was sent back.

Koremune no Tomonori (惟宗具範, ??-??)
Professor and Assistant Governor of Bichū
Junior fifth rank upper

20 On Ameyorozu toyohi no sumera (Kōtoku)

*Osukuni no
noritare tamau
ō miyo wa
naniwa no nagara
to koso kikoyure*

The great august reign
that was bestowed an imperial pronouncement
on the unified country
was from Nagara in Naniwa
I hear.

This emperor moved the imperial palace to Nagara no Toyosaki in Naniwa. Afterwards he established the many imperial offices.

Fujiwara no Genjō (藤原玄上, 856-933)
Lessor Counselor⁸ and Gentleman-in-waiting to the provisional deputy governor of Harima
Junior fifth rank upper

21 On Heguri no Tsuku no Sukune

*Tsuku sukune
sumera ga miko ni
na kaeseru
kokoro wa kimi o
iwau nari keri*

Tsuku no sukune
changed his name
to that of the emperor's child.
The intention was
to celebrate his lord.

On the day that Emperor Ōsazaki (Nintoku) was born, a hornded owl went into the birthing room. The next day, Emperor Homuta (Ōjin) summoned the his minister Takeuchi no Sukune and said, "What portent is this?" He replied, "It is a good sign. Also yesterday, when my wife gave birth to a child, a wren went into the birthing room, and this is also strange." The emperor said, "Now,

⁸ A gyō rank.

my child and my minister's child were born on the same day, and each with a portent. I will change the names of the birds, and call my son Ōsazaki, and the minister will name his Tsuku no Sukune, as a portent for future times.

Minamoto no Kanenori (源兼似, ??-??)
Gentleman in Waiting⁹
Junior fifth rank upper

22 On Tsuchikura no Abiko

<i>Ami hareru</i>	Stringing a net,
<i>Abiko ni aite</i>	it ran into Abiko.
<i>ajiki naku</i>	How boring!
<i>yotose no aida</i>	For four years,
<i>tokuru yoshi nashi</i>	there was no reason to release it.

In the reign of Emperor Ōsazaki (Nintoku), Tsuchikura no Abiko caught a bird and said, “Your humble servant always uses nets to catch birds. Up to now I have never caught one like this.” The emperor asked Sake no kimi “What kind of bird is this?” He replied, “There are many of these birds in Paekche. If you tame it you can use it to get [other] birds. People of that country call it the “kuchi.” Then he gave the bird to Sake no kimi and had him tame it. He tamed it in no time at all. He attached a reed to its leg and a bell to its tail and set it on his arm, then presented it to the emperor. That day, the emperor visited Mozuno, and used it to catch many pheasants. The bird is now known as the hawk.

Ki no Ariyo (紀有世, ??-??)
Former Senior Assistant Minister, Punishments Ministry
Junior fifth rank upper

23 On Ukemochi no kami

<i>Ukemochi no</i>	The power of the goddess
<i>kami no chikara wa</i>	Ukemochi was

⁹ A sani (散位) was a courtier with rank but no posting.

<i>itsukusa no</i>	bringing forth from her body
<i>tanatsu mono wo zo</i>	the five types
<i>mi yori nashitaru</i>	of grains.

Amaterasu said, “In the central reed-plain country, there is the goddess Ukemochi no kami. When she faced the land, grain came out of her mouth, and when she faced the sea, fish with wide and narrow fins came out of her mouth, and when she faced the mountains, the animals with rough and smooth hair came out of her mouth. When the goddess died, she became oxen and horses, also, various types of things came out of her body. So it is said.

Ōnakatomi no Yasunori (大中臣安則, 847-928)
Master of the deities of heaven and earth
Junior fifth rank upper

24 On Nunakura no futotamashiki no sumera (Bidatsu)

<i>Karasu ha ni</i>	On the feathers of a crow
<i>sumi mo miwakanu</i>	the ink was indistinguishable;
<i>tamazusa wa</i>	it was in the reign of this august sovereign
<i>kimi ga miyo ni zo</i>	that the messenger
<i>tatematsuri keru</i>	presented them.

The letters that were written by Ō Jinni happened during the august reign of this emperor.

Fujiwara no Michiaki (藤原道明, 856-920)
Middle Controller¹⁰ and Deputy of Office of Provincial Examination¹¹
Senior fifth rank lower

25-26 Two poems on Amekuni oshiharaki hironiwa no sumera (Kinmei)

<i>Hotoke sura</i>	Even the Buddha,
<i>mikado kashikomi</i>	reverent to the emperor
<i>shiratahe no</i>	parted the waves,
<i>nami kaki wakete</i>	white-capped,
<i>kimaseru mono wo</i>	and came.

¹⁰ A shu rank.

¹¹ A gyō rank

In the august reign of this emperor, the King of Paekche presented one golden Buddhist statue,
along with volumes of sutras.

*Totsue amari
yatsue wo koyuru
tatsu no koma
kimi susameneba
oi hatenu beshi*

More than ten,
and eight [meters],
the dragon horse!
If the emperor had not favored it,
it would certainly have ended up elderly.

In the same august reign, in the district of Imaki in the province of Yamato, it was said: “A man from the village of Hinokuma climbed a platform and surveyed, and he saw one great horse. It whinnied when it saw its shadow, and easily jumped over its mother’s back. It was the child of the horse lost by Nihe, a fisherman from Ki province. He purchased it and when it got older, when riding it jumped like a dragon, and could cross a valley of eighteen meters.” By the by this horse was summoned by the emperor.

Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki (三善清行, 847-919)
Doctor of Letters and Governor of Bichū
Junior fifth rank upper

27 On Shitateruhime

*Kara koromo
Shitateruhime no
sena koi zo
ame ni kikoyuru
tsuru naranuneba*

(Chinese robes)
It is the voice loving of her husband
of Shitateruhime
that was heard in heaven,
and not of that of the cranes.

Shitateruhime was the wife of Amewakahiko. After her husband died, she cried and lamented, and her voice was heard in heaven. Also a Chinese text says, “The cranes cry in the marsh, and their voices are heard in heaven.” Perhaps that is connected to [this poem].

Minamoto no Masatoki (源当時, 857-921)

Controller of the Left¹² and Director of the Carpentry Bureau
Junior fourth rank lower

28 On Izanaki no mikoto

*Ao unabara
Izanaki mireba
ō yashima
masuki totomo no
kazo ni zo arikeru*

Izanaki looked
upon the blue sea.
He is the father
(masuki totomo ni)¹³
of the eight islands.

Izanaki no mikoto and Izanami no mikoto stood atop the floating bridge of heaven and made a plan together, saying “Is there not a country below in the depths?” When they took the heavenly jeweled spear and thrust it down and searched, they found the blue sea. The brine that dropped from the tip of the spear coagulated and became an island. This was called Onogorojima. The two gods descended to this island and became husband and wife, and gave birth to eight countries. Among these Awaji is counted as the placenta. Oki and Sado were born as twins. This is the first naming of the eight-island country. Next they gave birth to the sea, rivers, the ancestor of the trees Kukunochi, and the ancestor of the grasses Kaya no hime. Then they said, “We have given birth to these. Could we not give birth to a ruler for the realm?” They gave birth to the sun goddess and moon god. Next they gave birth to the leech child, who could not stand after three years. So it is said.

Fujiwara no Sugane (藤原菅根, 856-908)
Senior Assistant Minister of Ceremonial,¹⁴ assistant to the Crown Prince, and Governor of Bizen
Junior fourth rank upper

29 On Toyomike kashikiya hime no sumera mikoto (Suiko)

Tsutsumi oba

An embankment

¹² gyō rank

¹³ The meaning of this phrase is unclear.

¹⁴ gyō rank

*Toyora no miya
tsuki somete
yoyo o henuredo
mizu ha morasazu*

was first built
at the palace of Toyora.
Though many ages passed,
it did not leak.

This empress succeeded to the throne at the palace of Toyora. During the same august reign, Prince Shōtoku said, “The lives of the people depend on rice cultivation. Rice cultivation depends on embankments for ponds. If exposed to drought, the people will resent the sky, and the penalty for that will fall on the country. He ordered the country to construct lakes.” The empress was greatly pleased, and after building some large number of ponds, there was no worry about drought in the realm and the people became affluent. So it is said.

Fujiwara no Tadahira (藤原忠平, 880-949)
Gentleman in Waiting¹⁵ and Provisional Governor of Bizen
Major Controller of the Right, Junior fourth rank upper

30 On Ame mikoto hirakasu wake no sumera mikoto (Tenchi)

*Sasanami no
yo suru umibe ni
miya hajime
yoyo ni taenuka
kimi ga mi nochi ha*

On the seashore
that small waves come into
he built his palace.
This lord's descendants
would not die out over the ages.

In the august reign of this emperor, in the sixth year, the capital was moved to Ōmi.

Ki no Hasewo (紀長谷雄, 845-912)
Provisional Governor of Sanuki
Consultant, Major Controller of the Left, Junior fourth rank upper

31 On Ama no nunakaharaoki no mauto no sumera mikoto (Tenmu)

*Yokokaha no
atari ni tachishi
kumo wo mite
ama no hitsugi ha
eteshi kimi nari*

This is the lord
who received the imperial succession
while standing near
the Yokokawa river
and gazing at the clouds.

¹⁵ gyō rank

This emperor, after a certain thing happened, when he went into the eastern provinces, he reached the Yokokawa river, where a black cloud more than ten meters long passed through the sky. The emperor thought it strange and divined it himself, saying, “This is a sign the realm will be divided into two. I will gain the realm in the end.” So it is said.

Arihara no Tomoyuki (有原友于, ??-??)
Captain of the Guards of the Left,¹⁶ and Director of Upkeep
Consultant, Senior fourth rank upper

32 On Okinagatarashi hime no sumera mikoto (Jingū)

<i>Hi tsuki no yuku</i>	Although the houses
<i>hoshi no yadori ha</i>	of the stars that the sun and moon
<i>kawaru to mo</i>	pass through do not change,
<i>shiraki no kuni ha</i>	the country of Silla
<i>kaji ha kawakaji</i>	will never let its rudders go dry.

When the empress attacked Silla, Silla made vows saying “So long as the the eastern sun does not rise in the west nor the rocks of the river climb to heaven and become stars, the rudders will never go dry, and our seasonal tribute will not be lacking.

When this empress moved on Silla, the king of that country trembled in fear, and surrendered in front of the empress’ august vessel, saying “From now on, along with heaven and earth, we will present horse combs and horse whips.” Also, he swore, “Until the eastern sun rises in the west and the rocks of the river climb and become the stars of heaven, our yearly tribute will not be lacking.

Taira no Korenori (平惟範, 855-909)
Lord of the Treasury Ministry
Consultant, Senior fourth rank lower

33 On Tachibana no toyohi no sumera mikoto (Yōmei)

<i>Tachibana no</i>	May I not fall behind
<i>sumera no kimi o</i>	the devotion of Tasuna

¹⁶ gyō position.

*oshimi kemu
Tasuna ga makoto
ware mo otoraji*

who feared
for his lord
Tachibana.

When this emperor was ill, Tasuna the saddle maker said, “I will enter the priesthood on behalf of the emperor.” Also he made Buddhist statues and built temples and presented them to the emperor. The six-meter statue of Buddha in Sakata Temple is one of these.

Fujiwara no Kioytsune (藤原清経, 846-915)
Captain of the Guards of the Right,¹⁷ and Governor of Harima
Consultant, Senior fourth rank lower

34 On Mimaki iribiko inie no sumera mikoto (Sujin)

*Tataneko o
motomezariseba
yume ni mishi
ōmononushi no
kami are namashi*

If you had not sought
Tataneko,
the god Ōmononushi
you saw in your dream
would probably have run wild.

In the reign of this emperor, during the seventh year, the interior of the country was not at peace. The emperor did cleanse himself and performed abstentions, purified the interior of the great hall, and prayed, saying “Have my humble appeals to the gods been inadequate? Please instruct me in a dream.” In his dream that night there was a man who approached the great hall and stood, saying “Ōmononushi,” stating his name. “Emperor, do not despair that the country has not been quelled. This is by my design. If my child Ōtataneko worships me, it will quickly be pacified.” The emperor was joyous at the words of the dream and searched the realm for Ōtataneko, who was presented from the village of Sue. The emperor went out to Asajihara, assembled the various kings, and asked Ōtataneko, “Whose child are you?” He replied, “The child of Ōmononushi.” The emperor proclaimed, “I will prosper.” Then Ōtataneko was made to carry the worship objects

¹⁷ Gyō position.

created by Mononobe no Yasote and worship Ōmononushi, at which point the plague began to end and the interior of the country was quelled.

Tō Yo'ō (十世王, 833-916)
Lord of the Palace Bureau,¹⁸ and Provisional Governor of Ise
Consultant, Senior fourth rank lower

35 On Yamato takeru no mikoto

*Yamato take
nishi himugashi
kuni o uchite
tairage yoseshi
miko ni ha yaranu*

Yamato takeru
attacked the provinces
east and west,
he is the prince
who pacified them.

Fujiwara no Arizane (藤原有実, 847-914)
Captain of the Guards of the Left¹⁹ and Governor of Iyo
Consultant, Senior third rank

36 On Ōhase no sumera mikoto (Yūryaku)

*Mikari suru
kimi kaeru to te
kume kawa ni
hitokotonushi zo
idemaseri keru*

The lord said he was going home
from a hunt
when at the Kume river
Hitokotonushi
came out.

This emperor was hunting on Mt. Kazuraki when he met a tall man. His face and figure resembled that of the emperor. The emperor knew that this man was a god, however he asked him “Where are you the lord of?” He responded, “I am a god of the visible world. First, say your name. Then I will say mine.” The emperor replied, “I am Wakatake no mikoto.” Then, the god said “I am Hitokotonushi no kami.” Then they hunted together, chasing a boar, and each deferred shooting their arrows to the other. They ran their horses side-by-side and spoke deferentially to

¹⁸ Gyō position.

¹⁹ Gyō position.

each other. When the sun set and the hunt ended and they returned, the god saw the emperor to the Kume river.

Fujiwara no Ariho (藤原有穂, 838-908)
Lord of Civil Affairs,²⁰ and Master of the Crown Prince's Household
Middle Counselor, Junior third rank

37 On Prince Shōtoku

<i>Ikaruga no</i>	At the palace of Namiki
<i>Namiki no miya ni</i>	in Ikaruga
<i>tateshi nori</i>	the law was established.
<i>ima no sakashiki</i>	It suits the present brilliance
<i>miyo ni au kana</i>	of the august reign.

Emperor Tachibana no toyohi (Yōmei) had his palace in Namiki. He was the father of Shōtoku.

Also, this prince built his palace in Ikaruga. In the twelfth year of the same reign, the prince personally wrote a code of laws in seventeen articles and presented it to the throne.

Minamoto no Sadatsune (源貞恒, 857-908)
Captain of the Guards of the Right²¹
Middle Counselor, Junior third rank

38 On Takeuchi no sukune

<i>Tsukushi hetei</i>	Passing Tsukushi
<i>kukatachi seshi ni</i>	there was a trial by hot water,
<i>kiyoki mi ha</i>	and the pure body [of Takeuchi no Sukune]
<i>mu yo no sumera ni</i>	came to serve
<i>tsukae kinikeri</i>	six imperial reigns.

Kunitsune, beginning when he was thirteen years of age, served Emperor Tamura (Montoku), and afterwards up to the present has served six emperors.

When Emperor Homuta (Ōjin) dispatched Takeuchi no sukune to Tsukushi to observe the people there, Takeuchi no sukune's younger brother Mumashiuchi no sukune said to the emperor,

²⁰ Gyō position.

²¹ Gyō position.

“Takeuchi intends to take control of the realm.” Takeuchi no sukune heard this and greatly despaired, and came by boat to court, and stated that he had committed no crime. The emperor, questioning him, but because there was a respective dispute, it was difficult to settle. So the emperor proclaimed to the shrines of heaven and the shrines of earth, and near the Shiki river, each of them performed a trial by hot water, and Takeuchi no sukune won. It is said. “Kukatachi” means to search for hot water.

Fujiwara no Kunitsune (藤原国経, 828-908)
Major Counselor, Senior third rank

39 On Homuta no sumera mikoto (Ōjin)

*Toshi hetaru
furuki uki ki o
suteneba zo
sayakeki hibiki
tōku kikoyuru*

Because he did not discard
the old floating wood
that had passed the years,
its clear reverberation
was heard far away.

The emperor proclaimed, “There is an official boat. It is called “Karenō.” It was presented by the province of Izu. Now it has rotted and is difficult to use. As it was in official use for a long time, its achievements are difficult to forget. What should we do for naming this boat in a way that it will be passed down to future generations?” They took the wood from the boat and made it into firewood, then roasted salt and bestowed it on all the provinces and had them make boats. When it was being burned to roast the salt, there was a section that did not burn. Thinking it odd it was presented to the emperor, and the emperor made it into a zither. The clearness of its sound was heard far away. It is said.

Minamoto no Hikaru (源光, 845-913)
Tutor to the Crown Prince²² and General of the Guards of the Right
Minister of the Right and Junior second rank

²² Gyō position.

40 On Ōsazaki no sumera mikoto (Nintoku)

*Takadono ni
noborite mireba
ame no shita
yomo ni keburite
ima zo tominuru*

Climbing a high platform
and looking out,
smoke rose from all four quarters
of the realm;
even now we prosper.

This emperor, in the fourth year of his ruling the country, when he climbed to a high platform and gazed afar, saw that there was no smoke rising within the borders of the land, and thought the people were poor. For three years he blessed the people by not taking taxes or requiring corvee labor. Also, because his palace was not being kept up, the rain and wind came in, his clothing was all moist, the light of the stars leaked in, and the roof was left exposed. After that, because of the wind and rain, the people profited and were affluent. In the seventh year of the same, he climbed to the high platform and gazed out, and because there was much smoke rising, he said, “I am already rich.” It is said that he became succeeded to the throne at the palace of Takatsu when he was eighty-seven years of age.

Fujiwara no Tokihira (藤原時平, 871-909)
Minister of the Left, Junior second rank
General of the Guards of the Left²³

41 On Oasatsuma wakako sokone no sumera mikoto (Ingyō)

*Amakashi no
oka no kukatachi
kiyokereba
nigoreru tami mo
kabane sumashiki*

Because the trial by hot water
at the hill of Amakashi
was clear,
the titles of the muddled people
were also made clear.

This emperor proclaimed, “In the past when the country was governed, the people obtained their place, and their titles were not confused. Now, in the fourth year of my heavenly succession, the

²³ Gyō position.

upper and lower fight amongst themselves, and the people are not at rest. Or, in error each has lost their title, or in other cases, they sought to be part of a higher clan. I, though I am young, could I not seek to correct this mistake?” Then the people of the various clans bathed and took abstentions, then set up a trial by hot water at the hill of Amakashi. At the trial by hot water, they said “Truthful people will be fulfilled, but the liars will be broken.” After that, the titles of the clans were established, and there were no lies. “Ōmutakara” refers to the people. “Kukae” refers to a vessel used to search for hot water.

Minister of Ceremonial
Koretada²⁴

42 On Mitsuha wake no sumera mikoto (Hanzei)

*Mizu no i no
soko ni shinaeru
hana no iro ya
sumera mikoto no
mina to narikemu*

Perhaps the color of the flower
that was supple
at the bottom of Mizu well
was the basis
for the emperor’s name.

The emperor was born in Awaji palace. His figure was very beautiful. At that place there was a well. It was called the Mizu well. When drawing water and presenting the water to the emperor to wash, Taji flowers were scattered about the inside of the well. Because of that the emperor was named. Taji flowers are now called Itadori (Japanese knotweed). He was called Tajihi no mizuha wake no sumera mikoto. It is said.

Minister of War
Sadayasu

Nihongi concluding banquet, Tengyō 6

²⁴ Koretada was an imperial prince and so had no rank.

At the *Nihongi* concluding banquet, the history was divided between each of us and I got a verse [to write] about Ōjin (combined with the preface).

The sovereign who rules a country and a household first sets up an officer to record words and deeds, and this is the reason that we know the patterns of myriad generations and observe the orders of the hundred kings. Thereby, when Empress Genshō ruled, she issued an order to first-class prince of the blood Toneri and Ō no Yasumaro, junior fourth rank lower, to compile the *Nihon shoki*. The beginning starts with the primordial mixture and what follows is divided between humans and gods. It begins in *kanoto tori* (660 BCE) and ends in *mizunoe tora* (702). All together it is 30 volumes bound into one text. When the heavenly descendant pushed away and cleared a road through the layers of cloud, the divines made way, and he descended to the peak of Chiho in Himuka. Then Kamuyamato [Jinmu] faced a curved harbor and met a fisherman, then a crow led him into the central country and showed the way. From this to Jitō's abdication are transmitted the foundations [of the emperors in-between], and onward it spills into recording days from the beginning of Monmu's reign. Accordingly, for 42 imperial reigns, the rises and falls are necessarily recorded in detail, and of the records of governance and chaos for over 1000 years of time, the important points are recorded and nothing is left out. Truly this is a glorious work and a warning to rulers. Accordingly, in the courts of Kōnin and Jōwa and the ages of Gangyō and Engi, lectures were repeatedly held and question-and-answer sessions frequently occurred. The imperial line is one, and there are no disruptions in the realm. The border of Fusō (the eastern frontier) submitted to the emperor's benevolence, and the village of Sairyū (the western frontier) adores civilization. It is sweeter-smelling than the Zhou²⁵ and more

²⁵ The Zhou dynasty (1046-256 BCE).

eminent than Shun.²⁶ The vicissitudes of the world reached a time of rest, and so there was a motion to read the state's classic text. For this reason, in the sixth year of Jōhei (936), the *bekkaden* of Ashū [Kinmochi] was made to lecture on it. The lecturer had passed the *keien* examination and was an outstanding disciple of the Bureau of History. He compiled [explanations] from the hundred schools and inquired into their breadth to the point that even things that fly away from the cloudy dreams of the grove of Deng did not escape.²⁷ Many schools' explanations were included and he lectured on their depths, like entering into a wave from the three rivers and five lakes.²⁸ Within he spread the affectionate training of leading students along, without he received the deep instruction of those teachers who preceded him. In accordance with the imperial order, he began the lecture. It was like when a discerning individual hangs a mirror and the light shines clearly into the heavens. It was like the echo one anticipates when ringing a beautiful bell that passes through the clouds and fog. At the end of the winter season of Tengyō 2 (939), the wind and dust of the border areas in the east and west were not settled. Weapons were arrayed majestically and the voice of the lecture quieted. The two villains [Taira no Masakado (903-940) and Fujiwara no Sumitomo (??-941)] were quickly dispatched and the four seas purified. The realm was at peace and the ritual music was performed again. Lectures on it continued and the ceremony was as it had been previously. During that period, the *bekkan* [Kinmochi] also was charged with governorship of Mishū (Minō) and Kishū (Kii). In the ninth month of the sixth year of Tengyō, the teaching began, and on the 24th day of the 12th month it finished. Small though it was, in accordance with the customs of the past, a completion banquet

²⁶ A legendary Chinese emperor (r. 2233-2184 BCE).

²⁷ The grove of Deng (鄧林) grew from the discarded walking stick of Kua Fu (夸父), who died of thirst while pursuing the sun. Here it is used as a metaphor for Kinmochi's thoroughness.

²⁸ A Chinese reference for all the rivers and lakes of the world.

was held. At that time, the royals, public officials, and scholars touched the wing of a heron²⁹ and [those clad in] crimson and purple³⁰ gathered together. As if it were spring visiting the cave of Mao,³¹ or like the evening banquet at Mt. Penglai,³² the *koto* sang and the drums shook, the song of the “Special Crane Crying Crow”³³ was at an end. The bird-wing wine cups flew frequently,³⁴ and even Zhongshan was no rival in their flow.³⁵ The old history was divided and each of us composed a new poem, fanned the ancient customs of times past, and sought out the deeds carried on from previous courts. My poem was:

*watatsumi no
chihe no shiranami
koete koso
yashimakuni ni
fumi ha tsutafure*

Crossing over
the thousand-layered white waves
of the sea,
writing was transmitted
to the eight-island country.

Tachibana no Naomoto (橘直幹, ??-??)
Senior secretary of the Ministry for Central Affairs³⁶ and Provisional Assistant governor of Ōmi
Junior fifth rank lower.

44-45 Two poems on Amewakahiko

²⁹ A metaphor for court ceremony proceeding smoothly. See *Book of Sui* volume 14; the idea is probably taken from the birds appearing to fly away in orderly formation.

³⁰ Aristocrats. See Bai Juyi (白居易, 772–846)’s poem *Ouyin* (偶吟).

³¹ Possibly the cave of Maoxiandong (茅仙洞), a holy location in the Taoist tradition. The sage Mao Ying (茅盈) and his two brothers trained in the cave.

³² A legendary mountain where the immortals dwell in Chinese mythology.

³³ This appears to be a garbled quotation from the note to Bai Juyi’s poem *Wuzenghe* (烏贈鶴). Bai uses the cry of these birds to evoke sadness, but Naomoto uses them to allude to the clamor of the party.

³⁴ Perhaps a reference to the bird-wing cups seen in Zuo Si (左思, 250-305)’s poem *Shu Capital Rhapsody* (蜀都賦).

³⁵ When Liu Yuanshi (劉元石) arrived at Zhongshan (中山), he drank for 1000 days, then went home so drunk he was buried by his household who mistook him for dead. He woke after 1000 days. Zuo Si alludes to the episode in his poem *Wei Capital Rhapsody* (魏都賦).

³⁶ Gyō position.

*Amatsu kami
yao yorozu to ha
iu naredo
Amewakahiko no
na koso takakere*

It is said that
the gods of heaven
number 800,000,
but the reputation of Amewakahiko
was especially great.

When Takamusui no mikoto set up the heavenly descendant and wanted to make him the lord of the central reed-plain country, there were many evil gods in that country. Takamusui no mikoto assembled the 800,000 gods and asked them, “Who should be dispatched to sweep away these evil gods?” All said, “The child of Amatsukunitama, Amewakahiko, is brave. He should be tried.” Takamusui no mikoto bestowed upon him the heavenly deer-child boy and heavenly feathered arrows and sent him. Amewakahiko went to that place and married the child of Utsushikunitama, Shitateru hime. He stayed and said, “I should rule the central reed-plain country,” and did not report back. Takamusui no mikoto was suspicious, and sent a pheasant with no name to see. The pheasant was in the branches of a tree at Amewakahiko’s gate. Amanosagume saw it and said to Amewakahiko, “There is a suspicious bird in the branches of the tree.” Amewakahiko shot it with the bow and arrow that Takamusui no mikoto had bestowed upon him. The arrow passed through the chest of the pheasant and landed in front of Takamusui no mikoto. He saw it and said, “This arrow was bestowed by me on Amewakahiko. There is blood on it. Perhaps he is fighting with the earthly deities.” He took the arrow and threw it back, and it came down and hit Amewakahiko in the chest and he died. So it is said.

*Tori no ne o
togamuru hito no
nakari seba
ama no hahaya ha
kaerazaramashi*

If there were no one
to blame
the sound of the bird,
the heavenly arrow
might not have come back.

Seen above.

Fujiwara no Toshihiro (藤原利博, ??-??)

46-47 Two poems on Ama no hohi no mikoto

*Ama no hohi
ukei mo shiruku
aremashite
kami no isao to
nari ni keru kana*

Ama no hohi
was born
from a notable pact.
and became
brave amongst the gods.

*Ashihara no
mizuho no kuni ni
chihayaburu
kami mukeyo to zo
ama kudashikeru*

Saying he would quell
the raging gods
of the reed-plain country
of verdant harvests,
he descended from heaven.

The meaning of these two poems is seen above.

Hada no Atsumitsu (秦敦光, ??-??)
Provisional Senior Clerk for Iyo³⁷
Graduate of the Classics Bureau, Junior sixth rank lower

48-49 Two poems on Ama no koyane no mikoto

*Toko yami ni
Amateru kami o
inorite zo
tsuki hi totomoni
nochi ha sakayuru*

In the persistent darkness
she prayed
to Amaterasu.
The time after that
was brilliant.

*Asana asana
teru hi no hikari
miru goto ni
Koyane no mikoto
itsuka wasuremu*

(Asana Asana)
Every time I see
the light of the shining sun,
how could I forget
Ama no koyane?

It is seen above in the words for Futotama no mikoto.

Tachibana no Nakatō (橘仲遠, ??-??)
Student of the Bureau of Letters, Senior sixth rank upper

50 On Hata no sake no kimi

³⁷ Gyō position.

*Koto no ne no
aware nareba ya
sumera kimi
hida no takumi no
tsumi o yuruseru*

Perhaps because the sound
of the zither was moving,
the emperor
forgave the crime
of the carpenter of Hida.

Emperor Wakatake (Yūryaku) spoke to Mita, carpenter of Hida, and made him build a tall platform. Mita climbed up the platform and quickly dashed as if he were going to jump. A palace attendant from Ise saw him and was so unprepared that she fell over in the garden and spilled the emperor's meal. The emperor suspected that Mita had violated this attendant and was going to kill him when Sake no kimi played the zither and its sound made the emperor realize [what had happened], so he forgave the crime.

Fujii no Kioymi (葛井清鑑, ??-??)
Master of Wine³⁸
Outer Junior fifth rank lower

51 On Dan Yōni

*Dan yōni
hito ni koetaru
hakase kamo
waga yashima made
nami wake kureba*

Dan Yōni
was a scholar
who greatly exceeded others.
To think that he split the waves
and came to our eight-island country.

Seen above.

Miyoshi no Fumiakira (三善文明, ??-??)
Accounting Assistant, Junior fifth rank lower

52 On Omoikane no kami

*Tokoyo naru
tori no koe ni zo
iwato toji
hikari naki yo wa
ake hajimekeru*

It was the voices of the birds
from Tokoyo,
that the closed rock door
of the night with no light
was first opened.

³⁸ Gyō position.

Seen above.

Mimune no Kindata (三統公忠, ??-949)
Major Secretary³⁹ and Lesser Governor of Ōmi
Junior fifth rank lower

53 On Urashima no ko

*Urashima no
kokoro ni kanau
tsuma o ete
kame no yowai o
tomo ni zo hekeru*

Urashima
got a wife
that suited him
and with her passed
the lifespan of a turtle.

In the reign of Emperor Wakatake (Yūryaku), a man Tsutsukawa in village of Yosa, province of Tamba, Mizue no Urashima no ko, was fishing on a boat when caught a giant turtle. The turtle became a woman. Urashima no ko loved her and made her his wife, and together they went into the sea, to the land of Tokoyo, and they met a sage. So it is said. “Tokoyo” refers to Penglai, “Hijiri” refers to a sage.

Ōe no Asamochi (大江朝望, ??-??)
Lesser Counselor and Gentleman in Waiting
Junior fifth rank lower

54 On the ancestor of the trees Kukunochi

*Kukunochi ga
umi hodokoseru
iro iro no
ki koso miyako no
kazari nari kere*

Kukunochi
gave birth to
various types
of trees
that adorn the capital.

Seen in the section on Izanaki no mikoto.

Minamoto no Kinsuke (源公輔, ??-??)
Master of the Weaving Hall
Junior fifth rank lower

55 On Tanobe no hakusomu

³⁹ Gyō position.

*Hakusomu ga
hani muma tsukurishi
toki yori zo
utsuwa mono sae
yutaka narikeru*

Hakusomu,
from the time that
he made horses out of clay
even pottery
has become more abundant.

In the reign of Emperor Wakatake (Yūryaku), the country of Kawachi reported that, “A man from the region of Asukabe, Tanobe no Hakusomu, heard that his daughter was going to give birth. He went to his son-in-law’s house and when he was coming home on a moonlit night, met a man riding a red horse at the foot of Emperor Homuta’s (Ōjin) masoleum. The horse jumped like a dragon. Seeing this, he made a wish that he could lay whip to his own blue-white horse and run alongside the other, then pass it, but it was difficult. The person riding the other horse knew Hakusomu’s intention and they swapped horses and he departed. Hakusomu happily entered the stables and took off the saddle, fed the horse with hay, and slept. The next morning, the red horse had become a clay horse. Thinking it strange, he again sought out Emperor Homuta’s masoleum, and his blue-white horse was there. He switched it again and departed.” So it is said.

After this, in the reign of the same emperor, Hanishi no muraji received an imperial order to produce pure clay vessels for the emperor’s morning and evening meals. After that, Hanishi no muraji presented his own denizens of Tsu Province, Yamashiro Province, Ise Province, Tamba, Tajima, and Inaba to the emperor, and they were made into the Nie no hajibe.

Fujiwara no Chikasuke (藤原近相, ??-??)
Senior Assistant Minister to the Administration Office⁴⁰
Junior fifth rank lower

56 On the ancestor of the grasses Kaya no hime

⁴⁰ Shu position.

*Toshigoto no
haru ya mukashi no
kaya no hime
no ni mo yama ni mo
kusa no moyuramu*

Every year
in spring,
perhaps it is Kaya no hime of old
that makes the grass sprout
in the fields and mountains.

See in the words on Izanaki no mikoto.

Taira no Nariaki (平斉章, ??-??)
Master of the Armory
Junior fifth rank lower

57 On Tamayoribime

*Watatsumi wo
idekimashikemu
kokoro koso
yamasachihiko no
yome to sahe nare*

By having the will
to come out
of the sea
she became the bride
of Yamasachihiko.

Tamayoribime was the wife of Hikohohodemi. One of Hikohohodemi's names was said to be
Yamasachihiko.

Minamoto no Izumi (源泉, ??-??)
Lesser Counselor
Junior fifth rank upper

58 On Kotoshironushi no kami

*Mikotonori
kashikomite koso
moro ta fune
koshi yori miho no
saki ni tsuri sene*

Because he took the order
[of the gods] so reverantly,
since the two-handed boat came,
you fish no more
at the cape of Miho.

Seen above.

Minamoto no Suguru (源俊, ??-??)
Provisional Lesser Controller of the Right⁴¹
Junior fifth rank upper

⁴¹ Shu position.

59 On Ō Jinni

*Shiru koto no
aru to naki to no
hedate oba
mika bakari tomo
iu bekarikeri*

The difference between
knowing something
and not knowing it
is but three days,
perhaps it was said.

The letters written on crow feathers that were presented to the emperor from Koma were not discernable by anyone for three days, then Ō Jinni read them. So it is said.

Sugawara no Arimi (菅原在躬)
Lesser Controller of the Right⁴²
Junior fifth rank upper

60 On Sotōri no iratsume

*Teri ni teru
kao wa dare zo to
tou made ni
hikari tōreru
kimi ga otohime*

Shining brightly,
whose face is that?
When it was asked,
the light shone through;
it was the lord's Otohime.

When Emperor Oasatsuma wakako sokone (Ingyō) was diverting himself in his new palace, the emperor played the koto, and the empress stood and danced. When the dance finished, she said "I present you with a woman." "Who is it?" Then she said, "It is my younger sister, and her name is Otohime. Her figure was outstanding, and shone through her clothing. People at that time called her Sotōri hime. So it is said.

Tachibana no Sanetoshi (橘実利, ??-??)
Lesser Counselor⁴³ and Gentleman in Waiting
Junior fifth rank upper

61 On Atoki

⁴² Shu position.

⁴³ Gyō position.

*Kudara yori
nami o wake koshi
kimi nareba
na oba nagashite
nokosu naru beshi*

From Paekche
splitting the waves
it was you who came,
and so your name
passed on to remain [with later generations].

In the reign of Emperor Homuta (Ōjin), Atoki was dispatched from Paekche. This man was skilled at reading books, it is said.

Ki no Arimasa (紀有昌, ??-??)
Lesser Assistant to the Ministry of Ceremonial
Junior fifth rank upper

62 On Kushitama nigihayai no mikoto

*Kudari koshi
ama no iwafune
iwarebiko
miya hajimeseru
shirube narikeri*

The heavenly rock boat
which came down from heaven
was a sign
to Jinmu
to build his palace.

Seen above.

Fujiwara no Arisuke (藤原有相, 908-959)
Lesser Controller of the Left⁴⁴
Junior fifth rank upper

63 On Tsuchikura no Abiko

*Ami no uchi ni
kakari hajimeshi
kuchi yori mo
hanachi kaesanu
nageki masareri*

In the net
more than the hawk
caught at first,
my sorrow at being set free
and not returning is greater.

Seen above.

Minamoto no Osamu (源治, ??-??)
Former Governor of Mikami⁴⁵
Junior fifth rank upper

⁴⁴ Shu position.

⁴⁵ Gyō position.

64 On Shōtoku Taishi

*Saki nihofu
hana woba okite
toyoto miko
matsu ni ha mimasu
iro nakarikeri*

Bringing forth the flowers
that are fragrant and blooming,
to the prince Toyoto,
there is no color
that surpasses the pine.

In spring, on a morning when the peach flowers were in bloom, his father the imperial prince and Prince Shōtoku were enjoying themselves in the garden. The imperial prince asked Shōtoku, “Do you favor seeing the flowers of the peach or the needles of the pine?” Shōtoku replied, “I favor the pine.” The imperial prince asked him again, “Why is that?” Shōtoku replied, “The flowers of the peach are ephemeral, but the pine is a tree of longevity. Therefore it is more beautiful,” he said.

Fujiwara no Moromasa (藤原諸尹, ??-??)
Middle Controller of the Right⁴⁶
Junior fourth rank lower

65 On Mononobe no Arakahi no Ōmuraji

*Arakahi wa
tsukushi no Iwai
tairagete
kokoro yukazu zo
omou bera naru*

Arakahi
pacified
Iwai of Tsukushi
but he was not satisfied,
I can’t help but think.

During the reign of Emperor Ofudo (Keitai), Iwai of Tsukushi rebelled. The emperor dispatched Muraji Arakahi, who attacked and pacified him.

Ono no Yoshifuru (小野好古, 884-968)
Middle Controller of the Left⁴⁷
Junior fourth rank lower

⁴⁶ Gyō position.

⁴⁷ Gyō position.

66 On Izanaki no mikoto

*Kazo iroha
aware to mizu ya
hirunoko wa
mitose ni narinu
ashi tatazu shite*

Could father and mother
not look upon him and be sad?
The leech child,
after turning three years old,
could not stand.

The leech child is seen above. “Kazo iroha” means father and mother.

Ōe no Asatsuna (大江朝綱, 886-958)
Master of the Popular Affairs Ministry⁴⁸ and Doctor of Letters
Junior fourth rank lower

67 On Toyotamabime

*Nami wo wake
waga hi no moto wo
tazune koshi
hijiri no miyo no
oya ni zarikeru*

Parting the waves,
she came
to our origin of the sun
and is the parent
of our sage’s imperial reign.

The older brother Ho no Suseri was gifted at sea fishing and the younger brother was gifted in mountain hunting. They thought about exchanging their talents with each other, and traded their respective bow and fish hook. Neither of them could catch anything, and Hikohohodemi ended up losing the fish hook. He was blamed by Ho no Suseri, and went to the seaside where he loitered about wailing when a man appeared, named Shiotsutsu no Okina. The man led him to palace of the sea god Toyotamabiko. The sea god welcomed him and bowed, and treated him kindly, and set him up with his daughter Toyoyamabime. Then, after three years had passed in of him staying in the sea palace, he rode a giant crocodile which took him back. Previously, Toyotamabime had said to him, “I am pregnant. On a day when the waves are high, I will come to the beach. Build a parturition hut and wait.” After that, Toyotamabime came and told Hohodemi, “Tonight I

⁴⁸ Gyō position.

will give birth. Do not look.” He did not listen to her, and lit a comb for light and looked, upon which Toyotamabime had changed into an eight-span crocodile and was crawling on her belly. Then, she was angry that he had shamed her, and returned to the land of the sea. Her younger sister Tamayoribime stayed and raised the child. His name was Hikonagisa Ugaya Fukiaezu. He is named this way because the roof of the hut was thatched with cormorant feathers, but it was not completely covered. So it is said.

Fujiwara no Toshifusa (藤原俊房, ??-??)
Provisional Governor of Bichū
Junior fourth rank lower

68 On Kunitokotachi no mikoto

*Ame no shita
osamuru hajime
musubi okite
yorozu yo made ni
taenu narikeri*

First ruling over
and establishing the succession
of the realm,
for 10,000 generations
it will not perish.

Seen above.

Ōe no Koretoki (大江維時, 888-963)
Director of the University,⁴⁹ Doctor of Letters, and Governor of Bizen
Junior fourth rank lower

69 On Tsukiyomi no mikoto

*Tsukiyomi no
ame ni noborite
yami mo naku
akirakeki yo wo
miru ga tanoshisa*

It is joyous to see
the night brightened
and without darkness
when Tsukiyomi
climbs into the sky.

Izanaki said, “I will give birth to a precious (*uzu*) child who will rule the realm.” Then he took a white mirror in his right hand and brought forth Tsukiyomi. He was naturally shining beautifully, so he shone down upon the realm. So it is said. “*Uzu*” means “good.”

⁴⁹ Gyō position.

Minamoto no Kintada (源公忠, 889-948)
Major Controller of the Right⁵⁰ and Governor of Ōmi⁵¹
Junior fourth rank lower

70 On Ikuha no toda no sukune

*Kurokane no
mato o tōseru
isami ni zo
na o tamawarite
yo ni tsutaekeru*

The ardor
that passed through the target
of iron!
A name was bestowed upon him
and it has been passed down through the ages.

In the reign of Emperor Ōsazaki (Nintoku), Koguryō presented iro shields and iron targets. On the day that a feast was given for all the guests from that country, the ministers assembled, and when they tried to shoot the target, none could pierce it. However, Tate no sukune pierced it. The guests from Koyuryō were awed by the superior bowmanship and made obeisance to the emperor. Because of this on the following day he was given a *kabane* and called Ikuha no toda no sukune.

Minamoto no Nakanobu (源仲宣, ??-??)
Assistant to the Guards of the Right
Junior fourth rank lower

71 On Ukemochi no kami

*Itsukusa no
tanatsu mono woba
ukemochi no
kami zo nashikeru
yorozu yo no tame*

The five types
of grains
were made by
Ukemochi no kami
for the sake of all the ages of the world.

Seen above.

Minamoto no Yoshimichi (源由道, ??-??)
Master of the War Ministry⁵²

⁵⁰ Shu position.

⁵¹ Gyō position.

72 On Uchi no wakako

<i>Homuta no</i>	Emperor Ōjin
<i>kimi wa ooto koso</i>	especially treasured
<i>megumi tamae</i>	his younger brother,
<i>mikuni o yuzuru</i>	conceding the realm to him
<i>koto no fukaki ni</i>	[reflected something] deeply held.

Emperor Homuta (Ōjin) summoned Ōyamamori no mikoto and Ōsazaki no mikoto and asked them, “Do you love your children?” They replied “Very much.” Then he asked, “Your older child and your younger child, which is superior?” Ōyamamori said, “The younger is not the match for the older.” At this the emperor’s thoughts were unhappy. Ōsazaki saw the emperor’s expression and said, “The older has passed many years, and is no worry as an adult. As for the younger, I do not know if [what kind of adult] he will become, and am very moved.” The emperor was greatly pleased, and set up Ujino wakako to succeed him. On that day, he ordered Ōyamamori to take charge of the mountains and rivers, and Ōsazaki to aid the crown prince, who would rule the country. So it is said.

Fujiwara no Arina (藤原有声, ??-??)
Provisional Master of the Ministry of Ceremonial⁵³
Junior fourth rank upper

73 On Hada no Ōtsuchi

<i>Ōkami o</i>	After saving
<i>tasukete nochi zo</i>	the wolf,
<i>Ōtsuchi ga</i>	Ōtsuchi
<i>fukakusa yori wa</i>	rose to prominence
<i>naridetarikeru</i>	from the deep grass.

⁵² Gyō position.

⁵³ Gyō position.

When Emperor Hironiwa (Kinmei) was young, a man appeared in a dream and said, “Emperor, if you give affection to Hada no Ōtsuchi, after you come of age, the realm will certainly be preserved.” The emperor dispatched messengers to search for him, and found him in the village in Fukakusa, in the district of Ki, in Yamashiro province. His name matched that in the dream. The emperor was happy and asked him, “Did something happen to you?” The man said, “Nothing. Only, I went to Ise and after selling my wares was returning when I ran into two wolves, covered in blood, fighting in the mountains. I got off of my horse, washed my hands, rinsed my mouth, and prayed saying ‘You are a revered god, and enjoy violent behavior. If you run into a hunter, you will be caught quickly. Please stop fighting.’ I rinsed away the blood and set them free.” The emperor said, “This is certainly recompense for that.” He favored him especially, and when he succeeded to the throne, he gave him charge of the Treasury Ministry. So it is said.

Minamoto no Kunibuchi (源国淵, ??-??)
 Master of the Left Capital Office
 Junior fourth rank upper

74 On Oasatsuma wakako sokone no sumera mikoto (Ingyō)

*Magau uji o
 kukae o suete
 waku nomi ka
 wata no tama sae
 araware ni keru*

Not only
 were the mixed-up clans
 distinguished by a trial by hot water,
 but even the jewel of the sea
 appeared.

The trial by hot water is seen above. When this emperor was hunting in Awaji, after a full day they could not kill even one boar. After performing divination, the god of the island said, cursing them, “You were not able to get any boar by my design. There is a jewel in the depths of the sea. If you present this jewel to me, you will be able to get boar.” After this, they got a jewel about the size of a peach and presented it to the god, then got many boars. So it is said.

Fujiwara no Arihira (藤原在衡, 892-970)
Counselor, Greater Controller of the Right, and Governor of Bichū⁵⁴
Junior fourth rank upper

75 On Amekuni oshiharaki no hironwa no sumera mikoto (Kinmei)

<i>Ōmitoku</i>	Because it was
<i>Hironiwa sumera</i>	the incredibly virtuous reign
<i>miyo nareba</i>	of Emperor Kinmei,
<i>atashi kuni sae</i>	even foreign countries
<i>amata kitsukau</i>	came in numbers to serve.

Seen above. “Atashi kuni” means foreign countries.

Minamoto no Moroakira (源庶明, 903-955)
Captain of the Guards of the Left⁵⁵ and Provisional Governor of Ki
Consultant, Junior fourth rank upper

76 On Mimaki iribiko no sumera mikoto (Sujin)

<i>Mimaki biko</i>	Emperor Sujin
<i>yo no naka watasu</i>	had designs
<i>kokoro arite</i>	for the people of the world to cross,
<i>nakute wa ashiki</i>	so he built the boat
<i>fune tsukurikeri</i>	that had to be built.

This emperor said, “Boats are the pillar of the realm. The people do not have boats, and they suffer transporting things by foot.” He ordered the provinces to make boats.

Tomo no Yasuhira (伴保平, 867-954)
Consultant, Minister of the Treasury, Governor of Harima⁵⁶
Senior fourth rank lower

77 On Ame mikoto hirakasu wake no sumera mikoto (Tenchi)

<i>Sumeraki no</i>	The emperor
<i>Ōmi no miya ni</i>	built his palace

⁵⁴ Gyō position.

⁵⁵ Gyō position.

⁵⁶ Gyō position.

*tsukuri okishi
toki no manimani
miyo mo taesezu*

at Ōmi.
With the passage of time,
his august reign did not end.

This emperor, when he came into the succession, built a device for measuring time, and first
built Ōmi no Ōtsu palace. So it is said.

Minamoto no Takaakira (源高明, 914-983)
Consultant, Captain of the Guards of the Right, and Provisional Governor of Bizen⁵⁷
Senior fourth rank lower

78 On Ōhase no sumera mikoto (Yūryaku)

*Yoki koto o
yorozu yo kanete
etsuru kana
Kazuraki yama no
kefu no mikari ni*

A great thing
is gained
for 10,000 generations
when hunting today
at Mt. Kazuraki.

Seen above.

Minamoto no Kiyokage (源清蔭, 884-950)
Middle Counselor

79 On Ōsazaki no sumera mikoto (Nintoku)

*Ōsazaki
sumera ga yo yori
tatsu keburī
ama no hitsugi ni
moe masaru kana*

Since the reign
of Emperor Nintoku,
the smoke which rises
burns ever greater
by the imperial succession.

Seen above.

Fujiwara no Morosuke (藤原師輔, 909-960)
Greater Counselor⁵⁸ and Master of the Empress⁵⁹
Junior third rank

⁵⁷ Gyō position.

⁵⁸ Shu position.

⁵⁹ Gyō position.

80 On Ikime iribiko isachi no sumera mikoto (Suinin)

*Ike mizu ni
kuni sakaekeru
makimuku no
tamaki no kaze wa
ima mo nokoreri*

Because of the lake water,
the realm prospered.
The wind from
Makimuku no Tamaki
remains to this day.

This emperor built his palace in Makimuku. It is called Tamaki Palace. In the same realm, messengers were dispatched to build a lake in the Kōchi province. After this, the various provinces were ordered to build many lakes. Because of this the people prospered and the realm was at peace. So it is said.

Fujiwara no Saneyori (藤原実頼, 900-970)
Greater Counselor, General of the Guards of the Right, and Inspector of Michi no Kuni and
Dewa
Senior third rank

81 On Ame yorozu toyohi no sumera mikoto (Kōtoku)

*Ame yorozu
yorozu no mina o
tsutafuru wa
kuni tairakeki
yo yo no kazu kamo*

Ame yorozu;
the august name of “yorozu”
being passed down
reflects the numerous reigns
when the country was at peace.

Seen above.

Minister of Central Affairs
Shigeakira

82-83 Two poems on Ōanamochi no kami

*Kunimukeshi
hoko no saki yori
tsutahekuru
mitama no fuyu
kefu zo ureshiki*

For the blessings
that came from
the tip of the halberd
used to pacify the country,
we rejoice today.

After Izanaki no mikoto lowered the jeweled spear of heaven and searched and found the blue sea, the countries were born, then Ōnamochi no kami was born. “Mitama no fuyu” is the name of a ceremony.

*Chihoaki no
kuni osametaru
ato wo nomi
yorozu yo ima mo
wasureya ha nasu*

The aftermath
of unifying the country
of 1,500 harvests
will not be forgotten
now or ever.

Amateru ōkami proclaimed, “The central reed plain of 1,500 abundant harvests should be ruled by my descendants.” So it is said.

Yatabe no Kinmochi (矢田部公望, ??-??)
Provisional Assistant Governor of Ki⁶⁰
Junior fifth rank lower

⁶⁰ Gyō position.